





CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION,
NOVEMBER, 1883.

"'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours."—YOUNG.

LOWELL, MASS.
MORNING MAIL PRINT: NO. 18 JACKSON STREET.
1883.

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14 June 1888

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ERRATA.

- Page 37, sixteenth line from bottom, for "eighteen," read *nineteen*.
Page 46, thirteenth line from bottom, for "peacefully," read *peaceably*.
Page 48, fourth line from bottom, the word *with* omitted between the words "along" and "me."
Page 53, ninth line from bottom, for "steamer," read *Sumter*.

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NEW MEMBERS.

ADDED SINCE JANUARY, 1883.

The figures in the first column indicate date of birth; those in the second column, date of arrival in Lowell.

Allen, Nathan	1813	1841
Carroll, Henry H.	1826	1846
Danforth, Solomon	1818	1833
Eaton, Wyllis G.	1808	1861
Puffer, A. D.	1821	1821
Whiting, Phineas	1819	1819
Wright, Atwell F.	1829	1845

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OFFICERS.

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JEFFERSON BANCROFT, VICE-PRESIDENT.

ALFRED GILMAN, SEC'Y AND TREASURER.

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WILLIAM KITTREDGE,

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I. Sketch of the Life of Kirk Boott, by Alfred Gilman.

KIRK BOOTT was born in Boston, October 20 1790. At an early age he was sent to England, and was for some time a member of the Rugby School. On his return he entered Harvard. His name appears among the juniors in 1807, and the seniors in 1808; but he did not graduate. Choosing the military profession, his father obtained for him a commission in the English army, with which he was connected for about five years. He served in the Peninsular War, under the Duke of Wellington; and commanded a detachment at the siege of San Sebastian in July, 1813. After this his regiment was ordered to New Orleans, to serve against the United States. Mr. Boott obtained leave to withdraw, and entered a military academy, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of engineering and surveying arts, which were afterwards of such eminent service to him.

His father, Kirk Boott, who died January, 1817, came to Boston in the latter part of the last century and established an importing house. In 1810, February 1, John Wright Boott was admitted a partner, and the firm became Kirk Boott and Son. At a subsequent period Francis, another son, was admitted as a partner. The father built the mansion house, now known as the Revere House in Boston. This was the family mansion until 1845, when it was sold to William Lawrence.

By the father's will it was provided that the business of the co-partnership in which he was engaged with his sons, John Wright and Francis, should be continued, until the 19th of March, 1818—the day when his son James would come of age; that, in the mean time, the executors should invest, from his share of the capital, the amount of the trust funds, created by the will, for the benefit of his widow and two maiden sisters;* and that after the 19th of March, 1818, if his sons should form a new co-partnership, they should employ in the business the portions of his minor children, three in number, until they should respectively come of age. He gave to his widow the right of occupying the mansion house during her life; and after a few specific legacies, he left the residue of his property, with a reversion in the house and the trust funds, equally to his nine children. The execution of this will devolved, by the resignation of the other executors, upon his eldest son, John Wright Boott. The minor children were Mary, James, Elizabeth, Ann and William. Mary married William Lyman; Ann married Robert Ralston, and Eliza married Edward Brooks; James and William were unmarried. There was a Frances who married William Wells. Besides these there was John Wright, Francis and Kirk, Jr.

When James became of age, in 1818, a new firm, consisting of John W., Kirk and James Boott, under the same firm-title, was formed and continued a little less than four years, until 1822. The business of Kirk Boott and Sons had been importers of British goods.

*He left to his wife the house, furniture, wines, &c., in Bowdoin Square, and one hundred thousand dollars, to be held in trust, the income to be expended for her support, and the support of the minor children until they became of age; and a little over eleven thousand dollars, also to be held in trust, to his two maiden sisters, who resided in Derby, England, the income of which was to be paid to them.

The firm met with very heavy losses, after the death of Kirk Boott, Senior. The double duties which had been levied during the war of 1812, were repealed in 1816, and there was in consequence a great fall in the value of merchandise. Mr. Kirk Boott, of London, a cousin of Mr. Boott, Senior, was the firm's agent in England. He became bankrupt in June, 1817, owing the firm nearly \$50,000, very little of which was ever paid. Out of the proceeds of their father's estate each of the heirs were paid, by the executor, \$10,000. During the term of co-partnership, Kirk Boott states that they met with heavy losses, and that he became indebted to his brother, John Wright Boott, for "advances."

During the summer of 1821, Kirk, while passing a day at Nahant, in company with Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, the latter gentleman expressed great delight in having even that brief respite from his numerous and pressing cares. Mr. Boott expressed a wish that he had cares, too, and offered to accept of any post of service which Mr. Jackson might assign him. Thus, accidentally, he found the place for which he was so admirably fitted.

This was the condition of Mr. Boott at the time he came to Chelmsford. We find a communication from him to the owners of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, dated November 14, 1821, offering to hire the water-power at \$1800 per annum. The offer was refused, and the Boston Company proceeded to buy up a sufficient amount of the stock to control it; when Thomas M. Clark, the clerk of the old Locks and Canals Company, was employed to purchase the lands in the vicinity. The property in the hands of John Wright Boott was in the market seeking a profitable investment. The Boston Manufacturing Company, at Waltham, had solved the problem in regard to the ability of manufac-

turers to sustain themselves in the business. It was here, then, that the trust funds held by John Wright Boott, under his father's will, were invested, and I find among the articles subscribed to by the founders of Lowell, the following:—

“Article 6th. Whereas, we have been informed that the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River are possessed of valuable mill-seats and water-privileges; and, whereas, Kirk Boott has, with our consent, advanced money for the purchase of shares in the stock of that corporation, and of lands thereunto adjoining, we hereby confirm all he has done in the premises, and further authorize him to buy the remainder of the shares in said stock, and any lands adjoining the Locks and Canals he may judge it for our interest to own; and also to bargain with the above-named corporation for all the mill-seats and water-privileges they may own. He must in all cases be governed by such advice and direction as he may receive from the company, or any committee duly appointed by them.”

Kirk Boott we find now thoroughly and systematically engaged in this new enterprise. He gave himself up heartily to its prosecution; and in the discharge of every duty devolving upon him, he amply fulfilled the expectations of his most sanguine friends. But we have become aware of one fact: that he was not a rich man. The interest from his portion of his father's estate did not go a great way toward the support of himself and family, while the pittance allowed him by the company (\$3000 per annum*) in the light of salaries of the present day looks meagre.

*In 1832 his salary was increased to \$4000.

There was no public house at that time suitable for the entertainment of his friends or the directors, when they came to Lowell. It fell upon him to make his house their resort, whether they were attracted here by curiosity or business. The Merrimack Company built a house for him, which formerly stood on the ground now occupied by the Boott Mills, for which at first he was charged rent, but upon his representation that he could not live on his salary, it was abated. Besides his cares and duties as resident manager of the Merrimack Company, and afterwards of the Locks and Canals Company, he was the foremost man in every public enterprise. He was chosen moderator of the first town meeting, and repeatedly represented the town's interests in the state legislature.

He married Anne Haden, November 14, 1818, and had six children: Kirk, born in Boston, October 27, 1819; Sarah Ann, Boston, March 18, 1821; Mary Love, Chelmsford, October 4, 1822; John Wright, Lowell, May 9, 1824; Eliza Haden, Lowell, February 18, 1827; Frederic, Lowell, February 16, 1829.

Mr. Boott has been charged with intolerance in both religion and politics. All we have to do with these charges is to print the correspondence between him and Dr. Edson, in evidence of his prudence and impartiality, and the following printed rules given to each person employed by the company:

APRIL 9, 1825.

TO REV. THEODORE EDSON—

Dear Sir: With a view to preserve some record of the conversations I have had with you, relative to your settlement, I will now report the tenor of my observations, and shall be happy to receive from you a written

reply. As agent for the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, I will engage to give you \$800 per annum, in quarterly payments, and to furnish you a house rent free.

In case the form of worship we have adopted should, contrary to my belief and expectations, be found so unpalatable to the majority of our people that the church is neglected, and the company should, in consequence, deem it prudent to substitute some other, I agree that you shall receive a year's notice of their intention, or your salary for the same period, as may be thought most advisable. I have only to stipulate on your part that if, from any cause, you desire to be dismissed, you will give us a like notice; and should this desire arise from more advantageous proposals, that upon our offering you an equivalent, you will consider yourself bound to give us the preference.

I do not anticipate any of these occurrences but with reluctance; but, on the contrary, look forward with confidence to a belief that every year will render a separation less probable and far more painful.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

Very truly your friend,

K. BOOTT, AGENT.

CHELMSFORD, April 11, 1825.

KIRK BOOTT, Agent—Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 9th instant, I agree to become your minister on the terms therein stated. In regard to the cases you mention which may possibly lead to a dissolution of this relation, I am willing to submit them to the direction of a superintending Providence. The nature of my connection here is obviously

such as not well to admit of compulsion on either part, and I am aware that whenever a separation becomes expedient, it will in some way or other be effected. The provisions on that point, contained in your letter, are perfectly fair and satisfactory to me.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,

THEO. EDSON.

“All persons are required to be constant in attendance on public worship, either at the church in this place or in some of the neighboring parishes.

“All are required to pay $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per quarter, in advance, for the support of public worship in this place, which sum shall be paid over for the use of such regular society, as each may choose to join.”

These rules, drawn up by Mr. Boott, evince an almost parental solicitude for the well-being and culture of the operatives. They were to be surrounded by the influences of home, and yet left free to choose. If it was a hardship to be “required” to do right, then the world is full of hardships. In regard to the second charge—“intolerance in politics”—we quote from an opponent. Eliphalet Case, in the *Mercury*, May 29, 1830, says: “The corporations do not care a stiver, one way or the other, for the peculiarities of religion or politics of those in their employ.”

There is no doubt as to the effect of Mr. Boott’s education—that it made him reserved in his communication with others, giving and requiring exact information upon any subject discussed, and a prompt and efficient discharge of every duty. We have only to refer to his

correspondence, in 1830, to learn that the position he occupied was not a "bed of roses"—that it was no sinecure. He says, in a letter dated September 29th—"I am almost worried out. Committee after committee keep coming up in relation to the increase of the Appleton works, or a new concern, for all of which many calculations are required, taking all my time; and since this unhappy disclosure,* I get neither sleep nor rest."

Again: he reveals a new feature in the care of the property entrusted to him, where he says: "Mr. Colburn is away from home, and I make it a point never to suffer both to sleep away from the works, on any account whatever." Here we see the master sunk in the servant, and cannot but admire the rule that governed his life.

We have also a glimpse of his home life. He had a fine establishment, his house was in a beautiful location, from which he could view the noble Merrimack from the foot of Pawtucket Falls to the bend at Hunt's Falls. He had his stud of horses, his grounds and his servants. He had, also, more valuable than all, a companion "possessed of the rare accomplishment of adapting herself to any circumstances into which by God's providence she might be called, whose life was devoted to him." All could not withdraw his mind from business; for October 10, 1830, he writes from his home: "I have been very busy, and have the house full of company."

In the persistent opposition he offered, on various occasions, to the plans of his fellow-townsmen, I have found that he acted under instructions that he could not disregard or disobey.

*Referring to J. W. Boot's unfortunate investments in the Mill Dam Foundry.

While preparing this notice of Kirk Boott, I received the following interesting letter from Dr. J. O. Green:—

Kirk Boott died at 12 o'clock, noon, Tuesday, April 11, 1837, near the Merrimack House. He died instantaneously, falling from his chaise at the moment. The chaise was standing still, and he engaged a moment before in conversation with Mr. Tilden. It providentially happened that the Boston directors were here and very near him at the time, viz: Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, Mr. Lyman, Mr. Tilden, Mr. Hale and others.

The following day came up Dr. J. B. S. Jackson and Dr. Putnam, and a minute examination was made of every organ of the body, occupying all the afternoon. The result was that he died of apoplexy, from a rupture of a blood-vessel on the brain. The cause of his chronic complaints was a thickening of the enveloping membranes of the spinal cord.

His brother, Mr. Wright Boott, came up the day he died, and on Wednesday he told me his brother had left express direction that his funeral should be as *private as possible*. It took place on Friday at his house, Dr. Edson reading the service for the burial of the dead in the presence of the family and some few relatives from Boston, and the body was carried to Boston in a special train at 4, P. M.

The following Sunday Mr. Edson's morning sermon was on the words: "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come"; in the afternoon on "The day is far spent, the night is at hand."

Mr. Boott left a will, made a year before his death, just before he embarked for England. His property was given to his wife and children in trust. Patrick T.

Jackson was made executor and John A. Lowell and Edward Brooks trustees. He left about \$40,000 and a valuable reversion in his father's property, which was not payable till his mother's death, so that the whole is estimated at somewhat short of \$50,000.

At a meeting of the proprietors at Boston, April 28th, Mr. Francis Lowell was elected treasurer and agent of the Merrimack Company, vice the late Kirk Boott, and Mr. John A. Lowell treasurer *pro tem* of the Locks and Canals (he declining a permanent appointment) vice Mr. Boott. The Merrimack Company voted Mrs. Boott \$4000 and the Locks and Canals presented her with forty thousand feet of land on Dutton Street, valued at least at fifty cents a foot.

J. O. GREEN.

LOWELL, March 5, 1879.

It will be seen by this brief sketch of the life of Kirk Boott, that his family bore a prominent part in the beginning and growth of Lowell.

April 28, 1837, at a meeting of the Directors of the Merrimack Company, it was "Voted, That P. T. Jackson be requested to communicate to the widow of the late Kirk Boott, Esq., the sympathy of the proprietors of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, with her and her family in the bereavement that they have recently sustained, and the high respect which they feel for the character and services of the late Mr. Boott."

I I. Reminiscences of the Lowell High School, by James S. Russell. Read August 6, 1879.

THE Lowell High School was organized in December, 1831, under Thomas M. Clark as principal, assisted by John M. Clapp. Mr. Clark was a recent graduate, not yet having attained his majority. He was enthusiastic and of versatile talents, not only ably doing duty in school but supplying the pulpit at Pawtucket Falls, being at that time a candidate for a Congregational clergymanship. He was independent, having none too much reverence for those in authority over him; but at the same time he was quite popular among his scholars, always taking their part in any controversy with the grammar school occupying the same house; or even with the committee when they found it necessary to interfere. Mr. Clark changed his church relations after leaving Lowell, took orders in the Episcopal church and rose from one independent post to another till he now is one of the most successful bishops of the church.

Mr. Clapp was a graduate of Yale College, a classmate and friend of Mr. Clark. After he left Lowell he became teacher of Beaufort Academy, S. C.; then he passed to the editorial staff of the *Charleston Mercury*. He entered actively upon the political strifes of his day, and secession found in him a champion, though he died in December, 1857, before secession was fully developed.

Nicholas Hoppin was Mr. Clark's successor, and, as usual in such circumstances, he found it difficult to follow a popular teacher. He was a contrast to Mr. Clark: humble, quiet, and of nervous temperament. After a limited time the school was discontinued, and he became an Episcopal clergyman, being for many years rector of Christ Church, Cambridge.

Mr. Hoppin, in a communication to the *Lowell Daily Courier*, says in reference to these reminiscences:

“To his brief account of my very short connection of only a few months with the High School, between forty and fifty years ago, Mr. Russell might have added the same remark that he makes with regard to my distinguished predecessor, namely: that I was under age when I took charge of it. He alludes, in his second paragraph, to what would now be considered, and in fact was considered at the time, a strange sort of insubordination, which had been allowed and kept up in the school, and which had grown to a direct collision with the authority of the school committee. I was not apprised of this state of things, and knew nothing of it till I encountered the natural consequences immediately upon taking charge. It did not need any great degree of ‘humility’ or ‘nervousness’ to make one distrustful in a very short time of the expediency of retaining the responsibility. I might perhaps have been a little more ‘popular’ with the older boys, some of whom afterwards gained positions of influence, but for the necessity and duty of enforcing certain distasteful but explicit requirements of the school committee, which they had been and were still encouraged to resist. Under these circumstances I was quite ready to agree with a proposal of the committee to shut up the school,

as the most effectual way of vindicating their authority. There had certainly been no lack of decision and firmness on my part in the unusual situation referred to; and I have always looked back upon my course as head of the Lowell High School with just pride and self-respect, as I have also rejoiced in the improved character and usefulness of the institution.

N. HOPPIN.

CAMBRIDGE, August 18, 1879."

When the school was re-opened William Hall became the principal. The school was then located in Concert Hall, on Merrimack Street. It had been located previously, first in a low building on Middlesex Street, then in the Free Chapel, then in the upper room of the South grammar school-house on Highland Street.

Early in April, forty-four years ago, a college student, who had been keeping school all winter at \$35 a month, to eke out his means of paying commons' bills and the numerous calls upon a poor student's scanty means, previous to his return to his college duties, presumed upon a short visit to his friends at Lowell. Seeing an advertisement for a principal and assistant to take charge of the Lowell High School, at a salary of \$1000 for one and \$500 for the other, our under-graduate contrasted these salaries with the pittance he had secured for his last winter's work, and concluded that he might as well attempt to secure one of these places for a year, and provide the means to pursue his education without further interruption. Though not expecting anything more than the second place, he applied for the first, and in a postscript signified his willingness to accept the second place, should a better man be found

for the first. The result was that a better man *was* found, and your humble servant was judged only the second best available man.

Franklin Forbes, a graduate of Amherst College, afterward a teacher in a Boston school, and then but recently elected principal of Marblehead High School, had the good fortune to be elected principal, or rather Lowell had the fortune to secure his services. He had the keenest mind, the most acute appreciation of the truth, and the ability to express that truth in the most fitting words. Aptness to teach he had in a high degree.

On the fourth day of May, 1835, Mr. Forbes and myself entered upon duty in the North school-house. The other schools of the town had commenced, after a vacation of the first week of April. But the High School was delayed by an interregnum in the succession of teachers. William Hall, the former teacher, had been re-elected on a liberal salary, and the school was to be opened in due time on a larger scale. But Mr. Hall assuming to himself the duties of a law-student, an interest in a bookstore, and an interest in the daughter of Dr. Hubbard in addition to his public duties, the school committee, fearing their interests might suffer, waited on him to induce him to relinquish some of these extra interests, or else relinquish the school. Mr. Hall chose the latter, either to show his independence or, more likely, because he had so involved himself that he could not well relinquish his other engagements. His law business was slow in its returns; his bookstore was not successful; his increased expenses were too importunate for him to live in Lowell, and he turned up in Pittsburg, Pa., where he struggled for awhile with varying fortune, till the small-pox terminated his earthly career.

Some time was needful to select Mr. Hall's successor; Mr. Forbes, when elected, could not at a moment's warning leave the Marblehead school, where he had been only a few weeks; and thus the scholars of the High School luxuriated in a vacation of the whole month of April. Little did they care for loss of time, and much were they envied by the scholars of the other schools.

A few days before the school opened, I accepted an invitation to be present at the examination of candidates for admission. I walked a mile in an April rain, pouring torrents, found some fifteen or twenty eager aspirants undergoing the examination by Dr. Edson, in a lobby of the Town Hall, and seated myself where I best could, there being no special seats for invited guests. I was soon surprised as well as amused by the Doctor's including me in his list of candidates, and putting me a word to spell in his rotation around the compact circle. I excused myself as having already received my certificate. The Doctor could only offer in apology the disguise of my wet garments. I could easily excuse the indignity in the despatch of business. In two hours or less, the Doctor had examined them all, given them their certificates, and they were on their way home, rejoicing in their success and wondering that they should have suffered so much in the anticipation of that which proved so simple and inoffensive.

The early examinations of applicants were conducted orally by the committee, and rarely was an applicant rejected. This may be accounted for, partly from the more strict construction of the rules by the teachers presenting the candidates, and partly from the then undeveloped notion that the High School is a popular institution and the people have a right to its privileges, even if those privileges be useless unless taken in due

order. Afterward the teachers conducted the examinations, and the committee, in full board, admitted or rejected on the reported results furnished by the teachers. Still the examinations were oral. In process of time the grammar masters were required to be present at the examinations, that they might learn to what results to direct their teaching. But when the importance of their presence was magnified too greatly, their *non*-attendance was requested. As the number of applicants increased and their qualifications diminished, and the outside pressure became clamorous, written examinations were adopted, not only as furnishing a more sure test, but also as furnishing a tangible answer to all complaints, and charges of favoritism.

The standard of qualification for admission has been thought to be elevated from time to time, till now a college would accept some of our rejected applicants. But really, the standard has been arranged on a sliding scale, rising or falling, so as to admit to the utmost capacity of the school; and not unfrequently, by some hitch in the machinery the influx has exceeded the accommodations. Instead of the standard being now so much higher than formerly, there are causes operating in an opposite direction. Formerly there was no limit to the term of membership. A scholar could attend as long as he pleased, or graduate when he pleased, by simply dropping out without ceremony. But since the custom of awarding diplomas, and graduating by classes came into use, the graduates include many who deprive themselves of the advantages of the school at a time when they are best qualified to appreciate them; and their scholarship reflects little honor upon the school, which, moreover, is deprived of that mature scholarship which once gave it character; and the vacated seats are

filled with scholars whose attendance another year at the grammar schools would be advantageous, both to themselves and to those schools, as well as to the High School.

But it may be urged in favor of the diplomas, that the *esprit de corps* they induce excites to more diligence, better attendance, and greater efforts to keep up and graduate with their own class. And should the diplomas always be awarded with a just discrimination, so that they may really be what they pretend to be; and should a wise discrimination also be exercised in the admission of members, having as much care to avoid depleting the grammar schools as to surfeit the High School, the effect of the diplomas would be highly salutary.

But to return from this long digression. Mr. Forbes, myself, and about eighty scholars assembled at the school-room on a beautiful May morning, and had our first introduction. The salutations were soon over, the forces were marshaled into order with wonderful facility, and we were soon in complete and successful operation upon the famous "ten-minute system." This system was followed to the letter, till it was thoroughly proved, and in many respects found wanting; then it was modified by doubling the time and trebling it, till at present each teacher has only six recitations a day, instead of thirty-two as formerly. The ten-minute clock was left behind when the school removed from the North school house, and no longer obtruded its admonitions upon unwilling ears.

This system doubtless had its advantages, but it has long since passed away, and with it some of the spirit and life of the grammar schools. It is but recently that I heard a man in authority say that he believed the restoration of that system, with slight modification,

would be for the advantage of those schools. The father of the system in our schools (the venerable Dr. Edson) I believe has never lost confidence in it. But I am happy to say the High School has never needed the driving power of that engine. Mr. Forbes certainly had velocity sufficient to drive his business, and under his administration the school was faithfully worked; the swift had a free rein, and the slow lacked not the spur. All worked together harmoniously, both teachers and scholars, especially those who imbibed the enthusiasm of the teachers, as most could not fail to do. But if any chose the way of transgressors, it would not be wonderful if they should remember to this day the hardness of their chosen way.

Time fled apace, and my year's furlough drawing to a close, it became necessary to resign my place and return to college, or to abandon my degree altogether. The decision was difficult. On one side was the convenient salary, and the Circean embrace in which I was held; on the other was the college diploma, to be had through an examination extending over more than a year. Formidable indeed it might be, though most faithful diligence had been used in preparation for the ordeal. The decision was made to depend upon the cast of a die: upon the success of a petition for more salary. The result of that petition was the following vote: "That the salary of the assistant teacher in the High School be \$575, but that Mr. Russell shall receive \$600 while he remains." That fatal vote fixed the current of my life. The ready money had more attraction than the coveted piece of parchment at a distant day. In due time, however, the generous university bestowed the parchment of a higher honorary degree.

The pleasant association with Mr. Forbes was fated to be transient, as he was elected principal of the Winthrop School in Boston; and in August he resigned his place in the Lowell High School after one year and a quarter's service.

• Mr. Forbes' successor was Moody Currier, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and at the time of his election a successful teacher of an academy in Hopkinton, N. H. While in school he occupied his leisure over law books, and when he left Lowell he opened a law office in Manchester, N. H., just as that embryo city was starting into vigorous growth. He has for a long time been cashier of Amoskeag Bank and the treasurer of the savings bank connected therewith, which need not fear suspension from shrinkage of its securities while Mr. Currier has charge. He was almost totally unlike Mr. Forbes. Though he had many excellences, they were of a different class. We worked together harmoniously, but a larger ratio of the government now devolved upon the assistant. The teachers' tables were placed before the scholars; the principal's before the boys, near the entrance; the assistant's before the girls, near the other end of the room. The assistant had the oversight of the girls, but was often constrained to volunteer a glance over the other end of the room. We were embarked on the same ship, and so associated that if either went under the other went with him. Such helps never lacked the grateful appreciation of the principal, though it must be said they met less appreciation from disappointed evil-doers. Mr. Currier was more shrewd to discover the authors of mischief by after investigation, than to detect and nip it in the bud, as may be illustrated by examples. On one occasion a music-box suddenly arrested the attention of all by starting off on Yankee Doodle, or

something equally out of time and place. The principal, with unusual energy, issued forth. The music held its breath in horror, and seemed about to escape detection, when the assistant, judging only from appearances, ventured to call out at a distance, "French has the music." The principal turned and held out his hand toward French, and forth to public stare came the trembling box! On another occasion, years after, in the Hamilton school-house, Mr. Currier picked from the floor an obscene note, addressed to one of the young ladies. By comparing the hand-writing with that in writing-books and compositions, and skilfully collating items of circumstantial evidence, he traced out the author, who delayed not his graduation many days.

But the High School was destined to another reverse. It struggled for life in its origin, and its breath was once suspended. It was driven from the South school-house to make way for a grammar school, living for a time in a hall no better suited for it than for its rival, and not fit for either. It expanded into new life and hope in the North school-house. But now again in December, 1836, it is shoved away by a young grammar school, and stowed in an attic-loft some hundred feet high, reached by a narrow flight of stairs through a dark passage. The room was about a hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, ten or twelve feet high, imperfectly lighted at each end, and heated with the breaths of occupants, a wood fire at one end, and a smoke-pipe issuing out at the other end. Here were packed scholars enough to require a second assistant teacher—Seth Pooler, recently graduated from Vermont, a most excellent man, and faithful teacher. He taught English grammar and other English studies. We all heard recitations in that one room. The mingled voices of the

reciters, the echoing sounds from the drumhead floor, the inevitable murmur of a school-room, the obscure light, especially in the short and cloudy days of winter, the pestiferous atmosphere, all rendered total suspension of animation, as on a former occasion, a state devoutly to be preferred. On one occasion, as all was in the usual routine, a heavy sound attracted all eyes to Mr. Currier's class, standing mute near the stove—all except Miss Angelina Cudworth, who was lying straight upon the floor, pale as death. Her eyes look kindly upon me now as they did when I dashed into her face and bosom an avalanche of fresh snow hastily seized from the window seat at my end of the room. Had not that blessed snow fallen that day that estimable young lady would have waited long before she had opened those kindly eyes, such was the distance from all relief.

The High School remained in this rookery about a year, when it took its flight to another attic in the Hamilton school-house, somewhat less elevated, better proportioned, better lighted, but too small and unsuited to the convenience and dignity of the High School. The gallery at one end of the room was boarded up in front, making a room about seven by twice nine, and ceiling within reach. This served Mr. Pooler for a recitation room. The other arrangements were much as they were in the North school-house and the rookery. The school remained here three long years, begging for more ample accommodations, but patiently and faithfully laboring on, and establishing for itself a character and an influence to demand and secure a dwelling that should at least compare favorably with those of the grammar schools. The history of the High School for one of those years is less vivid in my memory. Like the squirrel in the fable, seeing in the distant hills attractions

that made him discontented with his burrow on the plain, he wandered away for a year. But a nearer view of those delusive hills not verifying the distant promise, he returned to his former position in the High School, having spent six months as principal and only teacher in what was then called the Latin Grammar School of Worcester, four months as assistant in the State Normal School, then at Barre, and the remainder of the time in preparing the manuscript of "Russell's Arithmetic." In the meantime the position in the High School was occupied by Abner H. Brown, one of the first members of the school, a recent graduate of Dartmouth College, a fine scholar, and a man to be loved and respected, as many who hear me will testify. Mr. Brown left the High School to accept a tutorship in his *alma mater*. He was afterwards elected principal of the Lowell High School in 1842; but failing health preventing his entering upon duty, he practised medicine and lectured to medical students till his much-lamented death in 1851.

The new school-house upon Kirk and Anne Streets was built in 1840, and at that time it might well be considered one of the best school-houses in the State. But school architecture has since made such advances, that there are numerous high school-houses in the State that have much better appointments than our own.

The school moved into the new building as soon as it was ready, and a little before. The boys' room being finished first, they took possession October 8th, at the beginning of the term; but the girls were disbanded till their room should be ready in the distant future.

Previous to this time the two sexes had assembled in the same room, mingled in the same classes, and enjoyed all the advantages of mutual acquaintance and

influence. For the most part that influence was salutary; but at one time, beginning at the North school-house, and extending over the occupancy of the rookery, the social inclinations of the scholars acquired an ascendancy that essentially interfered with the legitimate objects of the school, and was a source of unusual solicitude on the part of the teachers and of a stringency of discipline that for the time was irksome to the scholars. The origin of this state of things seemed to date from the entrance into the school of several scholars from a recently disbanded private school.

On entering the new house, December 7, 1840, after a vacation of nearly ten weeks, the females were separated entirely from the males, entering the house from a different street, occupying a different room and not mingling at all in the same classes. The organization of the school was entirely changed. Only male teachers had ever been employed. Now, two female teachers were introduced (one as principal and the other as assistant) in the female department. The male department had a male principal. The other teachers were common to the two departments, and were denominated, one, "Teacher of Mathematics," the other, "Teacher of Languages"; afterwards a "Teacher of Natural Sciences" was added. Their relation to the school at that time, was much like that of professors in college, each being responsible for his distinct department. The two principals were independent of each other in all matters relating to their several rooms; but in general matters relating alike to both departments, the male principal had the ultimate authority.

Mr. Russell was appointed the teacher of mathematics, and he has occupied that position to the present time.

Mr. Currier's successor was Nehemiah Cleveland, who had long been principal of Dummer Academy at Byfield, one of the oldest and best academies of the State. He was totally unlike Mr. Currier, or any of his predecessors. His personal appearance did much for him. He was tall, large, dignified, and of aristocratic bearing, yet affable, easy, graceful and genteel in manners; but he was better fitted for an academy than for a public school. The response to his demand for a large increase in salary being unfavorable, he left at the end of one year, opened a school for young ladies at Brooklyn, N. Y., and afterwards engaged in literary labors to the end of his long life.

After Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Forbes again took charge, till, thinking he had mistaken his vocation, he took up engineering for a limited time, and then became agent for the Lancaster Mills, where his remarkable success proved he had found his proper vocation at last. He is no longer living. I have, as a memorial of him, not only our long and friendly intercourse, but his saying of me in an address before the High School Association in 1864: "I was then (1842) associated with my long-respected friend Russell, as true in heart and head as figures, the best teacher of mathematics I ever knew."

Mr. Forbes' successor was the present worthy principal, Charles C. Chase, of whom it will not become me particularly to speak. I may, however, be allowed to repeat, in substance, what I once said when called upon by authority to testify, that, though Mr. Chase might lack the eloquence of Clark, the meekness of Hoppin, the keenness of Forbes, the soundness of Currier, and the patrician bearing of Cleveland, he was a more useful and faithful teacher than any one of them.

The position of a High School principal is the most difficult and uncertain of any in the profession. Mr. Chase's tenure is exceptional. He has continued for thirty-four years, whereas seven principals preceded him in less than fourteen years. What better eulogy could one crave?

John W. Brown was appointed the first teacher of languages under the new organization. He was a lawyer by profession, but being too conscientiously scrupulous to follow the law, he took up the profession of teaching; and even that worried his conscience so that he resigned after one year's service. This was an evil world for him, both in his life and in his tragical death.

Mr. Brown was succeeded by George B. Jewett, a scholarly gentleman from Amherst College, to which he returned as tutor after one year's popular service here. He afterwards entered the ministry of the Congregational church. He returned to Lowell as principal of a select private school at the corner of High and Bartlett Streets, on the site of the "Livermore mansion," which he conducted successfully for a number of years. He was subsequently called to a professorship at Amherst College. A railroad accident rendered him a cripple for life, disappointing an ambition that looked aloft.

David C. Scobey succeeded Mr. Jewett. He was one of the old Puritan stamp, a thorough teacher, with high notions of a teacher's prerogatives. He held the position till death severed the connection.

Jonathan Kimball was his successor in 1850, and in 1852 he succeeded Miss Sawyer as sub-principal. He was popular among the young ladies of the school. He is at present superintendent of schools in the city of Chelsea.

Lloyd W. Hixon succeeded Mr. Kimball in 1858. He now has a private boarding-school in Newburyport.

After Mr. Hixon, Miss Mary F. Eastman served one year as sub-principal. She is now one of the advanced women in the lecture-field of women's rights.

James O. Scripture was her successor in 1860. He afterwards entered the Episcopal ministry, where his prospects of high position were soon cut off by premature death.

Mr. Scripture was followed by Joseph H. McDaniels, now Greek Professor in Hobart College at Geneva, N. Y. Since Professor McDaniels there has been no distinctive classical teacher.

Ephraim W. Young, in 1849, became the first special teacher of natural sciences. He is at present a lawyer, farmer and government officer in a western state.

Mr. Young's successors were Dr. John J. Colton, in 1857; Gorham Williams, in 1866; Levi S. Burbank, in 1867; and Edwin H. Lord, in 1873. The department still holds its distinctive character.

The female teachers have been numerous. The principals of the female department were Miss Lucy E. Penhallow, in 1840, beloved by those who would take care of themselves; Miss Susan E. Burdick, 1846, beloved by those least deserving her favor, and Miss Anna B. Sawyer, who soon chose to retire to a family school. Then the experiment of a female principalship was abandoned, but revived again temporarily under Miss Eastman in 1860. Other sub-principals were, as before named, Kimball, Hixon, Scripture and Williams.

In 1867 the school-house was transformed into its present condition, and meantime the school had a lodgment in Jackson Hall, at great inconvenience. Since

that time there has been no distinctive female department. The scholars are seated in different study-rooms, the sexes mixed in the different rooms, mixed in the classes, and the classes in different studies mixed among the teachers, so that most of the teachers must attend to a variety of studies.

In 1840 the new school-house was arranged for a complete separation of the sexes, the males and females entering from different streets and never uniting in the same classes. But after a time doors were cut through partitions to admit of uniting the smaller classes, and by degrees the present complete amalgamation of the sexes has been attained.

The first female assistant was Miss Julia M. Penhallow, a general favorite and a valuable teacher. Following Miss Penhallow were Miss Augusta Lovering in 1844, and in 1846 two assistants, Misses Catherine C. Pond and Elizabeth T. Wright. Miss Wright was only a temporary teacher at this time, but afterwards, in 1852, she was for several years a most successful teacher and a particular favorite of the young men. Miss Martha F. McKown was a dignified, lady-like teacher, and of salutary influence. In 1852 Miss Caroline A. Raymond became a valuable acquisition to the school. Misses Emily B. Guild, Susan A. Skinner, Mary F. Morgan, Mary H. Farmer, Caroline A. Page, Agnes Gillis, Eliza T. Braley, Harriet B. Bancroft, Gertrude Sheldon, Elizabeth B. Russell, Alice J. Hardman, Maria C. R. Swan, Mary E. Hardman, Julia Bennett and Helen Ham, served for limited times, either by election or as temporary teachers.

In 1844 music was introduced into the school by the enthusiastic teacher, B. F. Baker, and continued by Isaac N. Metcalf and the present able instructor, George

F. Willey. French was taught in the school by the special teachers, E. H. Viau in 1848, Louis Royer in 1869 and Charles De Frondat in 1874. Drawing was taught by Augusta L. Brigham in 1867. Some other teachers have served as substitutes on occasions of temporary sickness or other causes of absence of the regular teachers.

The present board of teachers are more permanent than most of their predecessors. The principal, Charles C. Chase, elected in 1845; the assistants are Mary A. Webster, elected in 1864; Marietta Melvin, elected in 1868; Elizabeth McDaniels and Charlotte E. Draper, elected in 1870; Harriet C. Hovey, elected in 1872; Edwin H. Lord, elected in 1873, and Mrs. Alice J. Chase, elected in 1878.

Of this noble and well-proved band there is no need that I should speak. They are worthy of a higher appreciation than the penny-wise economy of the present day can comprehend.

The writing in the school had always been taught by professors of the art, or at least by those who taught only writing and book-keeping. Their connection with the school has always seemed less intimate than that of the other teachers, and their association with the other teachers has lacked completeness, they holding themselves aloof on the numerous and various occasions that bring the teachers into intimate and pleasant intercourse. In their selection, proficiency in their art has seemed the only necessary qualification. But when persons of known character, instead of itinerants, have been selected, they have been men worthy of the most intimate association.

Francis D. Randall taught writing a part of the time under the administration of Messrs. Clark and

Hoppin. He was a respectable man, of full middle age, did his duty acceptably, and being elected register of deeds in his native county in New Hampshire, he left Lowell.

At the beginning of Mr. Forbes' administration, S. R. Hanscom, who had previously been an assistant in the school with Mr. Hoppin, taught the writing, dividing his time between the High and some of the Grammar schools. He was an efficient teacher and his services were reasonably acceptable; but on the first of April, 1836, he was permitted to give place to Calvin Bugbee, who happened along here at that time, could write a good hand, cut splendid flourishes, and stay in a place till he became known, which in Lowell proved to be only a few months.

For a time the school was without instruction in writing, till January, 1837, when William A. Van Derlip taught the writing to the boys, and Ephraim B. Patch, to the girls, making two visits a week each, and giving their instructions in the common room, while all else went on in the usual manner. This arrangement continued till the school was removed to its own new building, except the place of Mr. Patch was filled for some months by his brother, John S. Patch. Mr. Van Derlip had been of the itineracy, and it is sufficient to say that he out-did Mr. Bugbee in all his qualifications, writing better, bragging more, and concealing his character longer. The Messrs. Patch had long been citizens of Lowell, in the mercantile business, and accepted this post as a temporary convenience, pending some changes in business. They were neat penmen, efficient teachers, and safe in their moral influence. On the re-organization of the school, E. D. Sanborn was elected "teacher of writing and of book-keeping." But he made only a short stop with us; not making a fortunate impression upon the High School boys, there

was too much friction, and his services were transferred to the grammar schools, and Charles H. Farnsworth took his place in the High School. Mr. Farnsworth succeeded remarkably well in imparting his elegant style of writing. He had no worse enemy than himself. He was succeeded in 1865 by Bertram Harrison, who has continued in the position to the present time.

In the beginning of 1837 the schools of Lowell were required to open their morning sessions with devotional exercises. Mr. Currier and myself compiled a form of prayer from the Book of Common Prayer and Blair's Book of Prayers, which has been in use ever since. Episcopalians, Unitarians, Orthodox, Baptists and others, alike have used the prayer in responsive form in connection with the "Scriptures without note or comment," and with singing also in later years. Never have I known devotional exercises in any public school conducted with more decorum, decency and order.

The instruction in the High School has generally been of the most thorough character; scholars who have gone from our schools to other schools, have often shown such marked superiority in their independence of forms, and readiness of comprehension of the subjects taught as to call forth the most flattering compliments for our teachers. Our college students have been relatively numerous, and their standing in college has often been such as to reflect great honor upon the school where they received their preparatory instruction.

Though not claiming perfection for the Lowell High School, it need not decline comparison with any similar institution. And if the citizens of Lowell should know the extent of the advantages they derive from the High School, they would not suffer it to lack anything it may need for its highest usefulness.

III. *Capt. G. V. Fox in the War of the Rebellion, by Alfred Gilman. Read August 6, 1879.*

SCATTERED over the pages of the history of the great rebellion will be found many incidents in the life of a Lowell boy. To the fact that he has never been mentioned as a candidate for the suffrages of the people, must be ascribed the reason that no one has collected and collated these incidents and given them to the public in a connected and readable narrative. He graduated from the Lowell High School and Phillips Academy, Andover, entered the United States Navy early in life, served as an officer for nineteen years, during which time he was ordered to different stations—in command of mail steamers, in the work of the Coast Survey and in the prosecution of the war with Mexico. The experience gained in the various positions assigned him, while in the service of the country, eminently fitted him for the part he took in the suppression of the Rebellion.

Montgomery Blair was the Postmaster General during part of President Lincoln's administration. He married a daughter of the Hon. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire. Our hero married into the same family. Mr. Blair, before and while a member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, gave his voice and influence to the plan of re-enforcing and victualling Fort Sumter. When we recall the events of that period, we become aware that a little of Old Hickory's pluck and

determination would have put an entirely different aspect upon the affairs of the country. It would seem as if Buchanan had been selected by the South for the Presidency with a full knowledge of his complete subserviency to the wishes and plans of its leaders. It was Mr. Blair who advised Gen. Scott to send, in this emergency, for his brother-in-law, Gustavus V. Fox. In this case it was an honor to be called to perform a duty, as it implied confidence in the ability requisite to its performance. There is a marked distinction between being called to and seeking a post of honor.

Lossing, in his narrative of the Rebellion, says: "January 7, 1861, Mr. Fox presented Mr. Buchanan a plan for provisioning and re-enforcing the garrison of Sumter." This question agitated the country and caused eventually a division in the ranks of the Democratic party. President Buchanan was committed to the doctrine of "no coercion," which was stretched to the extent that the United States troops were to be shut up and starved without even making an attempt to relieve them. Gen. Cass, the veteran hero of the Northwest, who had been the standard-bearer of the Democratic party, could not and did not sustain the President in this view. This disaffection spread among the people.

We have only to consult our own experience to know that opportunities lost can never be recovered. With a spirit discouraged but not disheartened, Capt. Fox found his plans thwarted by the President. It does not detract one particle from the credit due him that General Scott and Major Anderson decided that twenty thousand troops were necessary to re-enforce Fort Sumter. He had the spirit and will to make the effort, which was required to vindicate the dignity, honor and character of the Government.

Were evidence wanting to prove that an early effort would have been successful, I have only to refer to the action of Major Anderson in the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Sumter, December 26, 1860; to the probable effect of opening a fire upon the rebels when they assailed the *Star of the West*, which was laden with provisions for the relief of Sumter, or the successful retention and re-enforcement of Fort Pickens.

Lossing in his *History of the Rebellion*, says:—“March 21, 1861, President Lincoln sent Mr. Fox on a visit to Fort Sumter, and he was permitted to enter by Governor Pickens.”

The correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, under date of March 26, 1861, says: “Capt. Fox is cautious, intelligent and well-informed, and was brought to the notice of the government by Mr. Aspinwall, J. M. Forbes and some of the principal ship-owners of New York and Boston.”

On the occasion of this visit, the Governor of South Carolina sent the following note to Major Anderson:

“I have permitted Captain Fox and Major Hartstein to go to you under peculiar circumstances, and I deeply regret General Scott could not have been more formal to me, as you well know I have been in a peculiar position for months here, and I do this now because I confide in you as a gentleman of honor.”

Major Hartstein was sent as a guard to prevent any confidential conversation between Major Anderson and Captain Fox.

On the return of Captain Fox from Fort Sumter he informed President Lincoln that any attempt to succor Anderson must be made before the middle of April.

The order was given the afternoon of the 4th of April, and Col. Lamon was sent, April 8th, as a special messenger to the Governor of South Carolina, to notify him that supplies must be sent to Fort Sumter, peaceably it was to be hoped, but forcibly if necessary. It is not surprising, therefore, that every needful preparation was made for the reception of Captain Fox, and for the assault on Sumter.

President Lincoln's sense of honor would not permit him to make even an attempt to succor the garrison of Fort Sumter without formally giving his enemies notice.

In answer to a note, Captain Fox sent me the following statement, which has an important historical value:—

. "The first question presented to Mr. Lincoln, after his inauguration, was that of re-enforcing or abandoning Fort Sumter. Mr. Seward was for giving it up, and Mr. Blair for holding and re-enforcing it. On taking the sense of his Cabinet the vote stood, for withdrawing Major Anderson and yielding the fort to the rebels, Seward, Chase, Cameron, Smith and Bates; against yielding, Blair and Welles. Major Anderson having written a letter advising the Government to order his withdrawal from the fort, (to which an excellent military judgment had carried him), and having stated in that letter that it would require twenty thousand men to re-enforce him, and General Scott having endorsed the letter of Major Anderson in a personal interview with President Lincoln, the Cabinet then followed the recommendation of General Scott, and advised that the garrison of Fort Sumter be withdrawn, Mr. Blair alone dissenting.

Mr. Blair took the ground that to yield this fort,

the property of the United States, and forego any attempt to provision a starving garrison of United States soldiers, would demoralize the North, destroy the party which had just elected its President, and accomplish at once a permanent dissolution of the Union, and being out-voted, he tendered his resignation as Postmaster General.

In matters of serious import Mr. Lincoln moved with great caution. His mind was reflective and logical rather than executive, and when he had the time to listen to, and weigh facts and arguments presented to him, his judgment was superior to his party associates. He asked Mr. Blair why he maintained the possible relief of Fort Sumter, against the opinion of General Scott and the commander of Fort Sumter. Mr. Blair replied that the same question was before Mr. Buchanan only a short time previous; that a plan of relief was presented by his brother-in-law, Mr. Fox, not now of the Navy, but with eighteen years' naval experience; that this plan was approved then by Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, and General Scott, but refused at the last moment, by President Buchanan, and that the circumstances had not so completely changed as to render it necessary to abandon now at least the attempt upon which so much in the future rested.

This conversation led to my being summoned to Washington. These facts are known; perhaps they have not been stated so sententiously, but two survivors besides myself are alive and can confirm them and give others of importance. Many other statements are necessary to enable posterity to form accurate judgment upon the conduct of those whose purpose at this tremendous crisis of our affairs was first and foremost to preserve this Union of States. Unfortunately those who knew the

facts and helped to make them had not the time, when they were in power, and out of it, have not the inclination to write them. The principal actors in great affairs seldom contribute to history the truths within their knowledge.”

MEMORANDUM OF FACTS IN REGARD TO THE ATTEMPT TO PROVISION
FORT SUMTER, IN 1861, SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
IN 1865, BY CAPTAIN G. V. FOX, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
DURING THE REBELLION.

On the 5th of January, 1861, being in New York city, I received information that a steamer belonging to the line of which M. O. Roberts was president, was preparing to go to Fort Sumter with troops and supplies. While I was a Lieutenant in the United States Navy I had commanded one of the mail steamers belonging to this company, from which and the navy I resigned to enter civil life. Sharing the feelings of those who urged President Buchanan to hold this fort, and being desirous of employment on such patriotic duty, I called on Mr. Roberts and requested command of the vessel selected. Mr. Roberts expressed his regret that he had not known of my presence in the city and my desire to go, as he would certainly have given me command. Now, he said, it was too late, as the steamer [Star of the West] was on her way there. On the 9th of January, '61, this vessel was fired at by the forts on Sullivan and Morris Islands, acting under the orders of

the authorities of the State of South Carolina, and driven from the harbor. So soon as this fact was known in New York, I called to see George W. Blunt, of that city, whom I knew to be on intimate terms with General Scott, and to him I expressed my views in regard to the practicability of sending in supplies and troops to Fort Sumter, and the dishonor which would be justly merited by the Government unless immediate measures were taken to fulfil this sacred duty. Mr. Blunt asked me to explain my plan, and promised to send it at once to General Scott, in Washington.

I gave it to him in writing, as follows: From the outer edge of the Charleston bar, in a straight line to Fort Sumter, through the swash channel, the distance is four miles, with no shoal spots having less than nine feet at high water. The batteries on Morris and Sullivan Islands are about two thousand six hundred yards apart, and between these, troops and supplies must pass. I proposed to anchor three small men-of-war off the entrance to the swash channel, as a safe base of operations against any naval attack from the enemy. The soldiers and provisions to be carried to the Charleston bar in the Collins steamer Baltic—the provisions and munitions to be put up in small packages, such as one man could handle easily; the Baltic to carry three hundred extra sailors and a sufficient number of armed launches to land all the troops at Fort Sumter in one night.

Three steam-tugs, of not more than six feet draught of water (such as are employed for towing purposes) were to form a part of the expedition, and to be used for carrying in the troops and provisions, in case the weather should be too rough for boats.

With the exception of the men-of-war and tugs, the

whole expedition was to be complete on board the steamer Baltic, and its success depended upon the possibility of running past batteries, at night, which were distant one thousand three hundred yards from the line of entrenchment. I relied upon the barbette guns of Sumter to keep the channel, between Morris and Sullivan Islands, clear of rebel vessels while entering.

Mr. Blunt and myself discussed this plan over a chart, and he communicated it to Charles H. Marshall and Russell Sturgis. As it met with their approval, Mr. Marshall agreed to furnish and provision the vessels without publicity.

February 4th, Mr. Blunt came to my hotel with a telegram from General Scott, requesting my attendance at Washington. I had been summoned to the capital as soon as Mr. Blunt wrote to General Scott, communicating my plan of relief, but owing to a misdirection of the letter I did not receive it when it was written, near the middle of January. I left Washington February the 5th, and breakfasted with the General the next day. At eleven, A. M., I met at his office Lieutenant J. N. Hall, who had been sent from Fort Sumter by Major Anderson. In the General's presence we discussed the question of succoring the Fort. Lieutenant Hall's plan was to go in with a steamer, protected by a vessel on each side loaded with hay. I objected to it for the following reasons: First, a steamer could not carry vessels lashed alongside, in rough water; secondly, in running up the channel she would be "bows on" to Fort Moultrie, and presenting a large, fixed mark, without protection ahead, would certainly be disabled.

General Scott approved my plan, and on the 7th of February introduced me to Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, to whom I explained the project, and offered my services

to conduct the party to the fort. Mr. Holt agreed to present the matter to President Buchanan that evening.

The next day, the 8th of February, news was received of the establishment of a Provisional Government at Montgomery, Alabama, by the convention of delegates from the seceded States. I called on General Scott, when he intimated to me that probably no effort would be made to relieve Fort Sumter. He expressed great disappointment and astonishment at the change of purpose in President Buchanan, and sharing his feelings, I left Washington the next day for New York.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated and his cabinet appointed, among whom was Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, a graduate of West Point, and connected with me by marriage. While I was urging Mr. Buchanan's administration to hold Fort Sumter, by strengthening its garrison in February, I communicated my plans to Mr. Blair, who sympathized with my objects and warmly seconded my views. At that time he was urging Congress to pass a bill legalizing volunteer military organizations in the Southern States, for the defence of the Union, and having the confidence of General Scott, he had obtained from him important orders in aid of the organizations formed by his brother, for the defence of the Arsenal at St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts"; but when the question of *holding* Fort Sumter was discussed in the cabinet, every member except Mr. Blair, voted to give it up, and General Scott not only shifted his ground and advised the withdrawal of its garrison,

but included also that of Fort Pickens, in Florida, which was not claimed to be under military strain, as was urged in the case of Sumter.

Mr. Seward's policy was, "to let the wayward States go in peace" and seek a "reunion" by means of a convention to be called in pursuance of the constitution. Mr. Blair, a Southern man, opposed to slavery and educated in the traditions and union principles of General Jackson, antagonized Mr. Seward's policy, and urged holding and strengthening the forts still in possession of the United States, and placing arms promptly in the hands of the Union people South, who were in a majority, but unless promptly assisted, would be coerced by their desperate leaders, who held the political organizations and arms. Mr. Seward's policy proposed an abandonment of the forts held by the Government in the South, for the future contingency of a "reunion." Mr. Blair held that their abandonment was a surrender of the Union, and on this view he put his resignation from the cabinet on the issue.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Blair telegraphed me to come to Washington, where I arrived on the 13th. He briefly explained to me the condition of things and the necessity of convincing Mr. Lincoln of the practicability of re-enforcing Fort Sumter, since General Scott and Major Anderson advised that it would require twenty thousand men to relieve it. He took me at once to the White House, where I explained to Mr. Lincoln the plan I had proposed to his predecessor one month before, and which had then met the approval of General Scott. From the President we went to General Scott's office and discussed the subject with him. He took the ground that the batteries erected on both sides of the entrance of Charleston Harbor, since my former visit, made the

plan impossible. whereas I maintained that a naval force propelled by steam, could pass any number of guns there, because the course was at right angles to the line of fire and the distance—thirteen hundred yards—too great for accurate shooting at night. As Mr. Blair seemed to be fighting this battle alone, I thought it would strengthen my arguments and his position if I made a visit to Fort Sumter.

The President agreed to it, if I could obtain the consent of the Secretary of War and General Scott. The latter thought I incurred some personal risk, but at my urgent request, supported by the Secretary of War, he signed the letter annexed, with which I left Washington on the 19th of March, and passing through Richmond and Wilmington reached Charleston the 21st. I travelled the latter part of the way with Mr. Holmes, of California, formerly a member of Congress from South Carolina, in the days of Calhoun. At Florence Station we met Mr. Keitt, a member of Congress from South Carolina when that State passed the ordinance of secession. He welcomed Mr. Holmes warmly, and inquired with great anxiety whether Sumter was to be given up. Mr. Holmes said, "Yes, I know it," which seemed to give Mr. Keitt much satisfaction, but he insisted upon knowing his authority. Mr. Holmes said, "I have the highest authority for what I say," and upon Mr. Keitt again asking, "*Who?*" he leaned towards him, and at that moment the engine-whistle gave a screech for starting, so that the conversation closed, and I lost the name.

At a station near Charleston Mr. Huger, who had been Postmaster of that city, under President Buchanan, got into the cars and held a conversation with Mr. Holmes, during which the same assurances were repeated,

as to the certainty of the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Mr. Huger seemed much depressed with the condition of affairs.

At Charleston I sought an interview with Captain Hartstein, formerly of the United States Navy, to whom I made known my mission to visit Major Anderson. Not finding General Beauregard, he introduced me to Governor Pickens, who asked for the orders under which I acted. After considerable delay he directed Captain Hartstein to take me to Fort Sumter, and while the boat was preparing, I had an interview with General Beauregard. We then went to Fort Sumter, reaching it after dark, and remaining about two hours.

Major Anderson said it was too late to relieve the Fort by any other means than landing an army on Morris Island. He agreed with General Scott, that an entrance from the sea was impossible; but as we looked out on the water from the parapet where we were conversing, it seemed very feasible, demonstrably so, because we heard the oars of a boat near the Fort, and a sentry hailed, but the boat was not seen on account of the darkness until it nearly touched the landing.

I found the garrison getting short of provisions, and we agreed that I should report that the 15th of April, at noon, would be the period beyond which the Fort could not be held unless supplies were furnished.

I made no arrangements with Major Anderson for re-enforcing or supplying the Fort, nor did I inform him of my plan.

On my return to Washington the subject was still under discussion. General Scott's military fame and his great experience would seem to put beyond dispute any opinion of his concerning military affairs; but Mr. Blair convinced the President that he was influenced by politi-

cal grounds, because he advised surrendering Fort Pickens also, while I argued that the question of passing forts at night, with a naval force, was not a military but a naval one, and I compiled for Mr. Lincoln all the cases I could find where ships had passed shore batteries with impunity; notably, the English gunboat squadron which ran the batteries at Kinburn, in the Crimean War. I attended the meetings of the Cabinet very often to assist Mr. Blair and the President in these discussions, and at one of them General Totten, Chief of Engineers, read a paper in which he admitted that my plan of passing batteries at night, under steam, was feasible; but he said that the naval force at the disposal of the authorities at Charleston, would meet us at the entrance of the harbor and defeat its object. I replied that General Totten admitted all I urged, viz: the feasibility of running past shore batteries, and as to a contest of vessels at the entrance of the harbor, that was a naval question. The President told me if there was any naval officer of large experience who would confirm my views, to bring him to the White House; so I took Commodore Stringham, then stationed at the Navy Department. This officer not only supported my plans, but he said that he had held a conversation with the venerable Commodore Stewart that morning, who asserted that Fort Sumter could easily be re-enforced and provisioned with boats at night. As valuable time was being lost by discussions which form no part of this narrative, I represented to the President that an expedition of such importance required time for its preparation, and that if there was any probability of sending it out, preliminary steps should be taken.

On the 30th of March, he sent me to New York with verbal instructions to make ready, but not to incur any binding engagements.

After consultation with George W. Blunt, I met Messrs. William H. Aspinwall and Charles H. Marshall, by previous arrangement, for the purpose of having such an understanding as the President's instructions authorized.

Mr. Marshall declined to aid me, upon the ground that the attempt to relieve Fort Sumter would "kill the proposed loan and bring on civil war, and because the people had made up their minds to abandon Sumter, and make the stand upon Fort Pickens."

On the 2nd of April, I had not received the written authority which I expected from the Government, therefore I returned to Washington.

Delays, which belong to the secret and political history of this period, prevented a decision until the afternoon of the 4th of April, when the President sent for me, and said that he had decided to let the expedition go, and that a messenger would be sent to the authorities of Charleston, before I could possibly get there, to notify them that troops would not be put into Sumter, provided the subsistence for the garrison was allowed to be landed at the Fort peacefully. I told the President that by the time I should arrive at New York I would have but nine days in which to organize the expedition, charter and provision the vessels, and reach the destined point, six hundred and thirty-two miles distant. He replied, "You will best fulfil your duty to your country by making the attempt."

In the Atlantic waters of the United States the Secretary of the Navy had in commission only two small vessels of war, the Pocahontas and Pawnee; these he placed at my disposal, and also the revenue steamer Harriet Lane, and permitted me to give all the necessary orders. The Powhatan, which had recently returned to

port and gone out of commission, was immediately re-commissioned, because it was supposed to be impracticable to put all the sailors and all the launches on board the *Baltic*, with the army detachment, as I had requested, for I feared a divided expedition. Therefore, the *Powhatan* with her disciplined crew and large boats became indispensable to success.

I suggested to the Secretary of the Navy to place Commodore Stringham in command of the naval force, but upon consulting with that distinguished officer, he said that it was too late to succeed, and likely to ruin the reputation of the officer who undertook it.

I arrived at New York on the 5th of April; engaged the steamer *Baltic* through Mr. Aspinwall, who used every possible exertion to get her ready for sea, and delivered confidential orders embracing all my wants, to Colonel H. L. Scott, aid to the General-in-Chief, and Colonel D. D. Tompkins, Quartermaster.

Colonel Scott ridiculed the idea of the Government relieving Fort Sumter, and by his indifference and delay half a day of precious time was lost. The recruits that he finally furnished were raw and undrilled, and therefore totally unfit to be sent to garrison a fort, which by a combination of circumstances had become the spot where the question of maintaining the authority of the Union was to be tested.

I placed the hiring of three tugs in the hands of Russell Sturgis, but he found great difficulty in obtaining from the owners tugs to go to sea for a secret purpose. Finally, three were promised at exorbitant rates, namely: the *Yankee* (which I fitted to throw hot water), the *Uncle Ben* and the *Freeborn*.

The question of supplies introduced me to Major Eaton, of the Commissary Department, who "thanked

God" that an attempt was to be made to relieve Major Anderson's command, and from the energetic and enthusiastic co-operation of this officer the expedition was immediately provisioned as ordered.

The frigate Powhatan, Captain Samuel Mercer, sailed on the 6th of April, 1861; the Pawnee, Commander S. C. Rowan, on the 9th; the Pocahontas, Captain J. P. Gillis, on the 10th; the Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce, on the 8th; the tug Uncle Ben, on the 7th; the tug Yankee, on the 8th, and the Baltic, Captain Fletcher, dropped down to Sandy Hook on the evening of the 8th and went to sea at 8, A. M., of the 9th.

The detachment of recruits, with the following officers of the United States Army, accompanied me on board the latter vessel: First Lieutenant Edward McK. Hudson, First Lieutenant Robert O. Tyler and First Lieutenant C. W. Thomas.

Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, a heavy gale of wind came on from the northward and eastward, which continued during the whole passage. At three, A. M., on the 12th, we reached the rendezvous off Charleston, and communicated with the Harriet Lane, the only vessel which had arrived. At 6, A. M., the Pawnee was seen standing in. I boarded her and acquainted Commander Rowan with my orders from the Secretary of War, and asked him to stand in for the bar with me. He replied, that his orders required him to remain "ten miles east of the light and await the Powhatan," and that he "was not going in there to begin civil war." I then steamed in toward the bar with the Baltic, followed by the Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce, who cheerfully went along me.

As we neared the land, heavy guns were heard and the smoke and the shells from the batteries which had opened their fire upon Sumter, were distinctly visible.

I immediately stood out to apprise Captain Rowan, but met him coming in. He hailed me and asked for a pilot, declaring it to be his intention to run into the harbor and share the fate of his brethren of the army. I went on board and told him that I would answer for it, that the Government did not expect any such gallant sacrifice, having maturely settled upon the policy indicated in the instructions to Captain Mercer and myself. No other naval vessels arrived during this day; but the steamer Nashville, from New York, and a number of merchant vessels reached the bar, and while awaiting the result of the bombardment they gave indications to those inside, of a large naval fleet off the harbor. The weather continued very bad, with a heavy sea; neither the Pawnee nor the Harriet Lane had enough boats, nor of the proper size, to carry in supplies and troops. Feeling sure that the Powhatan would arrive during the night, as she had sailed from New York two days before the Baltic, I steamed out to the appointed rendezvous and made signals all night.

The morning of the 13th was thick and foggy, with a very heavy ground-swell. The Baltic, while steaming slowly in, ran ashore on Rattlesnake Shoal, but was soon got off without damage. On account of the heavy swell she was obliged to anchor in deep water, several miles outside of the Pawnee and Harriet Lane.

Lieutenant Robert O. Tyler, United States Army, an officer of very great zeal and loyalty, although suffering from sea-sickness, like most of the recruits, organized a boat's crew, and exercised them in spite of the heavy sea, for the purpose of having at least one boat, in the absence of the Powhatan's, by which to reach Fort Sumter. At 8, A. M., I took this boat and in company with Lieutenant Hudson, pulled in towards the Pawnee. As we drew

near that vessel, a great volume of black smoke arose from Fort Sumter, through which the flash of Major Anderson's guns could be seen, replying to the rebel batteries. The quarters of the Fort were on fire, but most of our military and naval officers believed that the smoke came from an attempt to drive out the garrison with fire-rafts.

As it was the opinion of the officers that loaded boats could not reach Sumter in such a heavy sea, and as no tug-boats had arrived, a schooner near us, loaded with ice, was taken possession of, and preparations commenced at once to load her to enter the harbor the following night. I now learned for the first time from Captain S. C. Rowan, that he had received a note from Captain Mercer, of the Powhatan, dated at New York, the 6th, the day that vessel sailed, stating that the Powhatan was detached by order of "superior authority," from the duty to which she was assigned off Charleston, and had sailed for another destination. I had left New York two days afterward without receiving information of this fatal change.

At 2, P. M., the Pocahontas arrived, and at half-past two the flag of Fort Sumter was shot away and not again raised.

A flag of truce was sent in by Captain Gillis, and arrangements made to put Major Anderson and his command on board the Baltic for passage to New York.

The Fort was evacuated Sunday, the 14th of April. Monday, the 15th, the steamer Isabel took the garrison to the steamer Baltic, which left that evening for New York, where we arrived on the forenoon of the 18th instant.

In passing Sandy Hook, the Baltic stopped to re-

ceive the telegraphic agent, but Major Anderson was so weak, physically, and so prostrated mentally, that he declined to see him or give him any message. Being appealed to, I suggested a brief report of facts to the Secretary of War, *by telegraph*, and the Major requested me to write what I thought best and he would sign it. Accordingly I wrote the following message, which was telegraphed from Sandy Hook and a copy given to the associated press agent:

STEAMSHIP BALTIC, OFF SANDY HOOK,)
 April 18, 1861—10.30, A. M., via. New York.)

Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burnt, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat; four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard—being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities—and marched out of the Fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,

Major 1st Artillery, Commanding.

HON. SIMON CAMERON,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

My plan for supplying Fort Sumter was plain and practicable, and it called for no means which the limited

resources of the Government did not have at hand. I requested—

First—Three hundred sailors on board the steamer Baltic.

Second—A sufficient number of armed launches to land the recruits and subsistence.

Third—Three light-draft tugs, for use should the sea be too rough for boats.

Fourth—Three small men-of-war to be anchored close in to the entrance of Charleston harbor, for a base of operations.

As already stated, the frigate Powhatan was specially re-commissioned, that she might carry the necessary sailors and launches, and be the flag-ship of the relieving squadron. Captain Samuel Mercer, a loyal South Carolinian, was placed in command, and instructions for his guidance, dated April 5th, were handed to him on the 6th.

On that day, as he was about to sail, Lieutenant D. D. Porter, United States Navy, and Captain M. C. Meigs, United States Army, came on board and gave Captain Mercer two orders. One was dated, "Executive Mansion, Washington, April 1, 1861," addressed to no one, but directing Lieutenant Porter to take command of the Powhatan, and ordering all officers to aid him in getting to sea. It was signed Abraham Lincoln and endorsed, "Recommend, William H. Seward." The other was dated "Washington City, April 2, 1861." It was directed to "Captain Mercer, United States Navy," signed Abraham Lincoln and attested, "True copy, M. C. Meigs, Captain of Engineers, Chief Engineer of Expedition of Colonel Brown." It detached Captain Mercer from the Powhatan in soothing and regretful language. This officer did not yield his important command with-

out great perplexity. He knew that, according to invariable usage, the President exercised his constitutional authority as "Commander in Chief" of the Navy through the Navy Department only, the head of which gave orders as "Secretary of the Navy," which were by law the orders of the President. Captain Mercer held the confidential orders of the Secretary of the Navy, dated April 5th, when those of the President dated the 1st and 2nd were given to him. The orders of the President conflicted with those of his Secretary, but they were of an *older date*, and transmitted by a department charged with diplomatic affairs only. Nevertheless, owing to the high character of the officers who brought the presidential orders, and their strenuous personal representations, he put Lieutenant Porter in command and went on shore.

In this way the Powhatan, with the sailors and launches, the commander of the squadron and the confidential instructions, were withdrawn from the Sumter expedition, and this steamer was sent to Fort Pickens, where a squadron of naval vessels was already anchored, and where she arrived five days after that fort had been re-enforced, in obedience to an order from the Navy Department which Lieutenant John L. Worden, United States Navy, carried overland to Pensacola. The delay in giving orders to fit out and organise the steamer expedition, until its failure in a naval point of view was extremely probable, was due to the political exigencies of that period. The steam tugs, which were a necessary part of my plan in the event of the water being too rough for boats, did not reach their destination. The tug Freeborn was not permitted to leave New York by its owners. The tug Uncle Ben was driven into Wilmington, N. C., and seized by the rebels. The tug Yankee

ran before the gale to the entrance of Savannah, Ga., and re-passed Charleston after the Baltic had left for New York. The naval steamer Pocahontas (one of the three men-of-war that I asked for) arrived as the Fort was about to be surrendered. Therefore all the conditions which I considered indispensable failed, and with them, the relief of Fort Sumter.

On my return the President wrote to me: "You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail, and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result."

While awaiting a summons from the Government, the communications between New York and Washington were severed. I therefore asked Mr. Aspinwall to procure a small steamer with arms and ammunition to enable me to reach Chesapeake Bay, where I believed the most critical situation to be. This gentleman applied to William B. Astor, who patriotically gave him a check for five thousand dollars. With this he procured for me the tug Yankee and persuaded Commodore Breese, commandant of the New York Navy Yard, to arm and fit her out; and receiving from that officer an appointment as Acting Lieutenant in the Navy, which gave me the right to exercise military authority, I left on the 26th for Hampton Roads, where I consulted first, Commodore Pendergrast of the Cumberland, and then Colonel Dimick, commanding at Fortress Monroe.

The services of the Yankee not being required by either of these officers I went to Annapolis and offered my vessel to General Butler, who was opening communication with Washington by that route. The General gratefully received the steamer and sent me through to

the capital, on the first train, where I reported to the President, who requested me to take an appointment in the Navy Department as Assistant Secretary.

Annexed are copies of orders and letters, relating to the narrative which I have submitted.

Very respectfully yours,

G. V. FOX,

Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Annexed to this narrative are copies of orders and letters relating thereto, fully corroborating the statements made by Captain Fox. The following letter from President Lincoln shows the appreciation in which Captain Fox's efforts were held:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1861.

CAPTAIN G. V. FOX: MY DEAR SIR—

I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test.

By reason of a gale well known in advance to be possible, and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground, while, by an accident, for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly *I*, to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while

the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation.

For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character, you would to-day be the man, of all acquaintances, whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

The Comte de Paris, who wrote a history of the rebellion, says: "Mr. Fox, who was Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the entire period of the war, possessed that peculiar kind of activity and intelligence which rises superior to all obstacles and can turn the least resources to account when all hearts are discouraged. Having visited Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, a plan had been agreed upon between them for re-victualling the garrison, and he proposed to Mr. Lincoln to be himself the instrument for carrying it out."

At a later date he says: "The Federal navy began to prepare for its combined expeditions (among them Hatteras and the Mississippi River) by land and sea in the month of August. The chief merit of their conception and organization was due to Mr. Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who had already distinguished himself at a critical moment by attempting to re-victual Fort Sumter. For four years his ardent mind, practical and full of resources, effectively controlled the Department, and at the expiration of those memorable

four years, he retired without aspiring to any other reward than the satisfaction of having served his country well."

B. J. Lossing, whom we have twice before quoted, says of Captain Fox's efforts to re-enforce Sumter: "As Mr. Fox's orders were imperative, he performed his duty in spite of official detentions, and with that professional skill, untiring industry and indomitable energy, which, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he displayed throughout the entire war that ensued; he fitted out the expedition (having made some previous preparation) within the space of forty-eight hours.

"The judgment and energy displayed by Captain Fox caused him to be appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy. As the Lieutenant of Secretary Wells, invested with wide discretionary powers, he was to the navy what the general-in-chief is to the Army."

General J. G. Barnard, United States Engineer and Chief Engineer Army of the Potomac, in Johnson's New Universal Encyclopædia, says of Captain Fox: "As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he is thus mentioned to the writer by a prominent member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet: 'Fox was, in my opinion, the really able man in Lincoln's administration. . . . He planned the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi, and generally the operations of the navy. He had all the responsibility of removing the superannuated and inefficient men he found in charge. . . . He selected Farragut. . . . General Grant constantly consulted him. . . . Not the least meritorious part of his services is, that he sought only to make them useful, claiming neither then nor now the fame due to his services.'"

After the war closed, just as Captain Fox was about to retire to civil pursuits, Congress determined to signify its sense of the services of Alexander II. of Russia to humanity in the abolishment of serfdom by him, and its grateful appreciation of that sovereign's sympathy openly expressed for the preservation of the Union, by sending a formal mission, in a naval squadron, to deliver to him the vote of Congress congratulating him upon having escaped the shot of an assassin. Captain Fox went to Russia in the Monitor *Miantonomoh* and performed this delicate mission to the satisfaction of Congress and with such an appreciation on the part of the Emperor that his son, the Grand Duke Alexis, made him a visit at Lowell, December 9, 1871.

Hon. Alexander H. Rice, chairman of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives during the war, writes: "I am thoroughly impressed by my observation and intimate knowledge of the inestimable value of Mr. Fox's services, the wisdom of his council, the sagacity of his plans, and the boldness and efficiency with which the Naval Department and service were conducted."

Admiral Porter writes of Mr. Fox: "To his professional knowledge and untiring energy the country is largely indebted for the rapidity with which we built up a powerful navy. To his advocacy of the building of suitable vessels for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, and improvement of Ericsson's system of monitors, was the country in a great measure indebted for an avoidance of war with England and France, which would have been fatal to the Union cause. Mr. Fox has never received due acknowledgment of his services from the country, and it is only by officers of the navy, or his wide circle of friends, that they are fully appreciated."

Admiral Dupont, in his official despatches, acknowledged his indebtedness to the Assistant Secretary, for his professional ability and great zeal, and this was the universal opinion of the officers who led our squadrons to victory.

Senator Grimes, chairman of the Naval Committee in the Senate, confirmed all that the Hon. A. H. Rice said, as to Captain Fox's services and abilities, and after he retired from the Department, at the end of the war, to seek his living in civil life, Mr. Grimes caused the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to be abolished, saying that it was created especially for Captain Fox, to enable the Navy Department to have during the war a person, whose professional knowledge and abilities would give a guarantee of success to the blockade and to naval operations, and whose character commanded the confidence of Congress and the country, and since the war was closed and he had retired to civil life, the office was no longer necessary.

Colonel C. C. Chesney, of the Royal Engineers, who visited this country during the rebellion, and studied the naval and military operations, published his observations on his return to England. Of Mr. Fox he wrote:—
“This officer, who had left the navy for private employment before the era of secession, was one of many bold and active spirits who flocked back to the public service of the Union, when its existence was endangered. . . .
An Assistant Secretary of the Navy was one of the first additional offices recommended for the sanction of the new Congress; the appointment was at once conferred on Captain Fox, who held it until the war was brought to a successful end. No better selection could have been

made. The happy combination he possessed of cultivated professional knowledge with close experience of the details of the Northern shipping trade, enabled him, in a degree to which no other man could have attained, to utilize the resources of the latter for the supply of the vast deficiencies existing in the department of which throughout the struggle he held practical charge." Writing of the loss of Norfolk Navy Yard and the conversion of the steam frigate Merrimac acquired thereby into an iron-clad by the rebels, Colonel Chesney writes that they proceeded forthwith to convert this vessel, "into such an invincible iron-clad as might hope to defy all the fleets of the North. To the foresight and activity of Captain Fox it was due that this design was foiled in the end, by the counter-measures adopted at his instance." Reviewing the work of 1861, Colonel Chesney says the one work really accomplished, was the validity of the blockade, and "further, it is evident that the Marine Department of the Union forces had done more during this period of general girding for the strife than the administration of the sister service." Again: "Passing forward another year in our review we find more conspicuous successes obtained by the energy of Mr. Welles' able assistant than perhaps even he had dreamed of, when the mantle of office fell on him in a fortunate hour for the Union."

*IV. Cruise of the Monitor Lehigh, by Charles
Cowley. Read November 12, 1879.*

THE success of the Monitor in her battle with the Confederate Ram Merrimack (or Virginia) induced the Federal Navy Department to contract at once for the building of nine iron-clads of the Monitor pattern, resembling, according to the homely description of one who witnessed the combat in Hampton Roads, "a cheese-box on a raft." One of these was the Lehigh, built at Chester, Pennsylvania, and costing four hundred thousand dollars. The burden of the Lehigh was about eighteen hundred tons, and a description of her will answer, substantially, for each of the other iron-clads of this class.

She was about two hundred and fourteen feet in length over all, forty-five feet in beam and fourteen feet deep. She drew, when in fighting trim, eleven feet of water. The turret, which contained one fifteen-inch and one eleven-inch Dahlgren gun, was twenty feet in diameter. She carried twelve steam engines, two to propel the ship, two for the turret, and eight for various other purposes.

The cruise of the Lehigh began April 15, 1863, and ended with the close of the war.

Her commanders were John C. Howell, now a rear admiral in command of the European squadron; Andrew Bryson, now also a rear admiral in command of the

Brooklyn Navy Yard ; Francis M. Bunce ; William Gibson, the poet ; Andrew J. Johnson and A. A. Semmes.

Her first duty was in the Chickahominy River, where, with the Monitor Sangamon, she co-operated with the Army of the Potomac under General McClellan. For some time she carried the flag of Rear Admiral Lee. At the close of McClellan's campaign, in July, 1863, she was sent to New York, where a branch rebellion was then imminent.

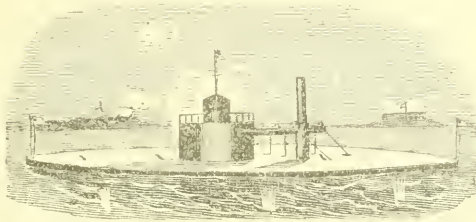
She left New York again on August 25th for the South Atlantic squadron. The passage of Cape Hatteras, which proved fatal to the original Monitor, came near proving fatal to the Lehigh. It was only by the greatest care and vigilance that she was prevented from laying her bones with the bones of hundreds of ill-fated barks over which the light of Cape Hatteras revolves forever. She passed Cape Hatteras Light on the night of the 27th and 28th of August, but no one on board saw that light. The sea broke over her decks without intermission during successive watches. It lifted and carried away her bell. There was one period of about an hour and a half, during which the deck could not be seen at all—the sea rolling over it, often as high as the turret. Captain Bryson expected every moment to go down.

She arrived off Charleston on the 30th of August, spent one day in "coaling ship," and on the two following days engaged, with other Monitors, in bombarding Fort Sumter, passing at once from the perils of the sea to the perils of battle.

Fort Wagner, which the Federal army had twice vainly attempted to capture by storm, was now almost within our grasp, having undergone one of the heaviest and most protracted bombardments recorded in history.

The capture of this famous fortification was finally

consummated by the aid of the "Grant" electric light, the use of which was suggested by John Austin Stevens, the editor of the Magazine of American History.* Be-



THE LEHIGH BOMBARDING BATTERY WAGNER.

ing brought to bear upon this battery, this light made it impossible for the Confederates to repair during the night (as they had previously done), the damages sustained during the day, and also enabled our army and navy to operate effectively, continuously, by night as well as by day.

On the 5th and 6th of September, the Lehigh and the Monitor Weehawken took a position, and maintained it, between two fires, having the Cummings Point Batteries, Wagner and Gregg, on the south, and Fort Sumter on the north, and being also exposed at the same time to the fire of more distant batteries on James Island and on Sullivan Island. By firmly holding this position, these vessels made it impossible for General Beauregard to send any further re-enforcements to Morris Island. The next night General Taliaferro evacuated that island, and General Terry, who was to have led a third assault on Wagner the next morning, entered that famous battery without a shot.

*See Mr. Stevens' kindly review of my "Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore," in his Magazine for June, 1880.

That night her consort, the Weehawken, accidentally got aground near Fort Sumter, and the Confederate artillerists, sighting their guns with the greatest precision of aim, poured upon her a most destructive fire. The Lehigh, meanwhile, with other vessels from below, used every effort to divert the fire of the Confederates from her disabled consort, and finally pulled her off into deeper water. The Weehawken, even while aground, returned the fire of the Confederate batteries with great vigor and effect. One shell which she then threw into Fort Moultrie, created more wide-spread havoc than any other single shot, so far as is known, that was fired during the siege of Charleston. It dismantled and broke the muzzle of an eight-inch Columbiad, then glanced off and exploded behind a mulin. This exploded two caissons, one containing cartridges for the cannon, the other shell. The bursting of these shells exploded several other ammunition chests, and the havoc was general. Eighteen men were killed, and ten wounded. Captain R. Press Smith, who commanded the company serving these guns, was compelled to leap over the parapet into the ditch, in order to save his own life.*

But great as were the losses then inflicted upon the Confederates by the Weehawken, they wholly failed to compensate for the injuries which she herself sustained in consequence of getting aground on that disastrous night; for I have no doubt that it was the overstrain which she suffered while thus lying aground, and keeping her battery going at the same time, which, two

*By the kindness of my friend, Mr. Yates Snowden, of Charleston, S. C., since this paper was read, I have been furnished with letters from Captain Smith (now practising medicine at Santa Rosa, California), Major T. A. Huguenin, who then commanded Battery Beauregard, and Lieutenant J. C. Minott, who then commanded Battery Marion, which enable me to add here several particulars previously unknown to me, and, also, to correct an error into which I had fallen as to the date.

months later, carried her suddenly to the bottom, with more than thirty of her crew.

On September 8, 1863, a picked body of three hundred sailors and marines, assaulted Fort Sumter. During the whole night the Lehigh lay near the Fort, covering with her guns the storming party. The garrison, however, had been strongly re-enforced in anticipation of this attack; the army column, which was to have coöperated with the navy column, failed to come up to our support, and the assault proved disastrous.*

I am aware that Mr. Greeley and Mr. Lossing, writing under the inspiration of General Gillmore, have said that this assault was made without the knowledge of that officer and without any expectation of coöperation from his army; but this is untrue. I myself saw and read the original despatches and telegrams from the General to the Admiral, arranging for a joint assault, and General Gillmore himself suggested the countersign, "Detroit," which was used by both branches of the service on that night. Not the slightest hint of any change of purpose on Gillmore's part was received by the Admiral; but the army column remained in boats in the rear, while the navy column climbed the walls of Sumter unaided, but climbed them only to be captured or killed.

The assault of the army column could not have succeeded, had it been made as planned. For its success depended on taking the enemy by surprise. But the Confederates became apprised of what was coming, by

*Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, of the First Georgia Infantry, who was stationed on James Island at the time, says: "The land forces, about four hundred strong, embarked in their boats in Vincent's Creek. The windings of the creek (between Morris and James Island) probably delayed them, and they had not quite reached the fort when the naval assault was made and repulsed. All hope of a surprise being at an end, the second force retired."

interpreting the signals which passed between the Admiral and the General in relation to the proposed assault during the preceding day. They were thus enabled to obtain re-enforcements, and to prepare thoroughly for the attack.

So, by the help of their knowledge of the mysteries of our signal code, they interpreted the signals which the Admiral and the General exchanged, prior to the terrible assault on Wagner, in the preceding July. Had the Federal commanders suspected that the Confederates knew the key to this code, the entire code would have been reconstructed at once. But no suspicion of this arose until after this assault.

The Confederates learned the key to all our signals early in the war. A Federal officer was captured near Georgetown, S. C., who had this code with him; but he firmly refused to reveal its precious treasures. The book was handed back to him with the remark, "Well, you may keep it; we can't read it; so it is of no use to us." By this conduct the fears of their prisoner, if he had any, were allayed. An adroit Confederate, dressed in the Federal uniform, was then shut up in the same apartment as a fellow prisoner-of-war. While thus confined, he won the confidence of his "chum," who finally taught him how to interpret the code.

During the night of September 8th, the Lehigh engaged Battery Bee at close range, and silenced her guns, but received more than thirty shots herself, and lost her flagstaff, jack-staff and cutter.

On November 16th, the Lehigh got aground between Cummings Point and Fort Sumter. Instantly a furious fire was opened upon her by the Confederates from the Sullivan Island batteries. Several of her officers and crew were wounded—three badly. Admiral Dahlgren

promptly ordered all the other monitors and the New Ironsides* to her assistance, and they did good service by diverting a part of the fire from the Lehigh to themselves. Captain Simpson, now a commodore in command of the naval station at New London, went into the fight with the smoke-stack of his ship (the monitor Passaic) shot through, and with her turret and pilot-house revolving together. The Patapsco's smoke-stack was also shot through. She was then under command of Captain Thomas H. Stephens, recently made a rear admiral. Dr. Longshaw, the surgeon of the Lehigh, with three men, volunteered to carry a hawser to the Nahant, a most daring feat, for which he and the men obtained promotion; but it proved useless, for the hawser was cut by Confederate shot and shell before it could be used. Dr. Longshaw belonged to Cambridge, Mass. He was afterwards killed at Fort Fisher.

Admiral Dahlgren's private journal, which has not yet been published, contains the following entry for November 16, 1863:

“Monday, November 16th. Superb weather. Wind northwest—clear and cool—bar. 30.00. Last night, about 9 or 10, the Confederates very unexpectedly opened a rapid fire from their batteries on Sullivan Island upon our works on Cummings Point. The General telegraphed me to prevent their landing in boats, so I sent orders accordingly to the monitors on picket.

“This morning, at daylight, the Lehigh was reported aground and the Confederates pummelling her. So I signalled the iron-clads to go up and relieve the Lehigh.

*See Captain Belknap's article on the New Ironsides off Charleston, in the first number of the *United Service*.

I went up myself in the Passaic, and finding the Nahant close in, passed to her in my barge. The tide was rising, and the Nahant could approach so as to get a hawser aboard the Lehigh.

“The scene was of great interest. Three times the hawser parted—once shot away. The line carrying it was twice sent to the Lehigh by the surgeon, in a little boat, and once by two seamen. Every effort seemed vain for the whole morning, under a perfect storm of shot and shell from cannon and mortars, under which the men worked well.

“At last I ordered the Nahant’s propeller to be started, the Lehigh backed, and the Montauk ahead of us. It was the moment of high water, and, most fortunately, the Lehigh yielded and backed off. Even then the hawser began to give way. Seven men were wounded by pieces of mortar shell. At one time, I ordered the Passaic and Montauk to reply to the batteries, which they did with effect, striking every time and dismounting a gun. The scene was quite a change. I noticed that the shore batteries, for whom we had got into trouble, gave us no help.”

While the Lehigh lay aground on this occasion, exposed to instant destruction by the Confederates, Admiral Dahlgren gave a signal proof of his extraordinary personal bravery. Not content with signalling to Captain Bryson to hold on to the ship to the direst extremity, and sending all the others to share her peril and save her from her impending fate, the Admiral boldly exposed his own life by pushing off in his barge from the flagship, pulling through a heavy sea, and personally boarding the monitors, while still under a heavy fire. Reckless of personal danger, the Admiral resolved to save the

ship, at all hazards, if she could be saved, and if she could not be got off, then to put a match to her magazine,

" And give her to the god of storms,
The lightning and the gale."

At length, the tide rising, the Lehigh got safely off. Although the Admiral was endowed with extraordinary physical intrepidity, and delighted to recognize and reward any exhibition of it among his officers and men, he never referred to it as a quality of which he was specially proud.

There are two kinds of courage. There is natural courage which men share with the lower animals: that can be hired for twelve dollars a month, with rations and clothing. It is an indispensable trait, but it is not the greatest. It is inferior to professional courage, which is the result of culture and calculation. For example: To push off from a ship during an engagement, and pull over to another in an open boat, and go on board that other when she too is engaged, (as Admiral Dahlgren used to do), seems a most daring adventure; and such indeed it is. But the professional sailor knows that while he is pulling about in a boat away from the vessels engaged, the danger is rather less than it is on board of those vessels, because the boat presents a smaller target to the enemy's artillery. Both natural and professional courage are necessary, and Admiral Dahlgren had both.

Once, when the Admiral, the Fleet Captain, and I, were going from one ship to another during one of the many artillery duels at Charleston, shell after shell from Moultrie exploded so near to the barge that conveyed us, that, though no fragment struck us, we were repeatedly splashed, and once almost deluged with water. I

remarked: "Admiral, Moultrie has trained her guns on your flag," (alluding to the broad, blue pennant which was then the ensign of his rank, and which was flying from the barge's bow). "That can hardly be," the Admiral replied. "In an operation like this, the great point is to get a broad target. The Monitors are small targets compared with the old-fashioned frigates; but they are so much larger than my barge, the rebels are not likely to train their guns on my flag, though they sometimes do, and perhaps they are doing it now." All this was said as coolly as if he had been sitting at his own cabin table, instead of under the fire of half a dozen belching batteries.

The *Lehigh* was once visited by a French Admiral who dropped anchor off Charleston with a French corvette, while Commodore (now Vice-Admiral) Roan was in command *ad interim*. It was desirable to treat the Frenchman politely; but as our relations with Napoleon the Third were precarious, it was not deemed advisable to show him the interior structure of the Monitors. Just as the Frenchman was coming on board the *Lehigh*, the Commodore, with that grim humor which is one of his best-known characteristics, suggested to Captain Bryson, "You can appear to show him a great deal and yet not show him much of any thing. A wink is as good as a nod to a blind horse." Captain Bryson governed himself accordingly. His demonstrativeness was astonishing, but the Frenchman left but little wiser than when he came.

The *Lehigh* did her full share of picket duty, the most irksome duty incident to the war—save only the gathering up of the wreck of battle and the burial of the dead. On December 6, 1863, she had the misfortune to see her consort, the *Weehawken*, go down off Morris

Island, as before mentioned. On February 17, 1864, another of her consorts, the Housatonic, was blown up and suddenly sent to the bottom by a Confederate torpedo, carrying down with her several of her crew. A few months later (January 15, 1865) still another of her consorts, the Monitor Patapsco was blown up and instantly sunk near Fort Sumter by another torpedo, carrying down, as food for the fishes, eight of her officers and fifty-four of her men.

The Lehigh was sent, once in 1864, and again in 1865, into the Stono River, where she engaged the Confederate batteries which guarded the approach to Charleston on that line. One of these bombardments lasted eight days successively. A Confederate "David" was sent down the Stono expressly to blow her up, and the Pawnee with her, if possible; but she escaped. Many other dangers were encountered and many other services performed by the Lehigh, in addition to the usual picket duty at Charleston, which it would be tedious to record at length here. The facts already related will suffice to indicate something of the life of all the iron-clad blockaders off Charleston.

The interior life of these blockaders corresponded with that on board of other naval vessels, except that our quarters were closer, the air fouler, and the service far more exhausting generally. Though the officers of the vessel came from every quarter of the globe, the service soon became painfully monotonous. Among my companions on board the Lehigh were Captain Bryson, who chased the Confederate steamer Sumter under the walls of Gibraltar; Lieutenant Forrest, who was executive officer of the Keokuk in the attack which Admiral Dupont made upon Fort Sumter, and who narrowly escaped going down with her when she sunk, on the

morning after the battle; Lieutenant Read, who distinguished himself at the capture of New Orleans, and who was attached to the Weehawken when she laid her bones upon the same level as the Keokuk; Dr. Hamilton, who had just chased Captain Semmes 'round the world in the flying squadron of Admiral Wilkes; and several others, whose experiences had been very various and deeply interesting. Forrest died of yellow fever in the West Indies; Read was drowned, with Admiral Bell, of the Asiatic squadron, by the swamping of a boat in China. Others of my old shipmates have passed through various vicissitudes.

It has been said that the life of any man, if truly written, would make an interesting book. There must be many exceptions to this rule; but I am sure there were at least half-a-dozen of my brother officers of the *Lehigh* whose lives would be far more interesting than this paper, in which I have essayed to sketch only the brief outlines of the history of the ship in which we served together.

About once a week we were visited by a supply steamer, which brought mails from the North. Frequently copies of the *Charleston Courier* were received by our advanced pickets from the advanced pickets of the Confederates, in exchange for the newspapers of New York. The *Courier* always brought recollections of Lowell "in the days of auld lang syne"; for it contained all the letters of the best Confederate army correspondent, F. G. Fontaine, "Personne," who first practised his gift in literary composition in the Lowell High School. It also contained Richard Yeadon's famous advertisement, which no Lowell man could read without laughter, as follows:—

TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD!

(\$10,000.)

President DAVIS having proclaimed BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of Massachusetts, to be a FELON, deserving of capital punishment, for the deliberate murder of WILLIAM B. MUMFORD, a citizen of the Confederate States, at New Orleans, and having ordered that the said BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, for that and other outrages and atrocities, be considered and treated as an OUTLAW and COMMON ENEMY OF MANKIND, and that, in the event of his capture *the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him* TO BE IMMEDIATELY EXECUTED BY HANGING, the undersigned hereby offers a REWARD OF TEN THOUSAND (\$10,000) DOLLARS for the capture of the said BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, and his delivery, DEAD OR ALIVE, to any proper CONFEDERATE AUTHORITY.

RICHARD YEADON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., January 1, 1863.

The Lehigh is now at Brandon, Va., with other iron clads, ready to do her part in any future struggles, foreign or domestic.

“There are sailors to-day who would die at their guns,
As the tars of the Cumberland died,
Or with Somers sail through the jaws of death,
On Tripoli's fatal tide.”

At present their duties are irksome and monotonous enough. But long may it be before this wearisome monotony is again relieved by the bloody work of war. God grant that the thunder of our iron-clads may never be heard again, save in firing salutes to the starry flag, the honor of which they have so well sustained.

V. Sketch of the Life of Edward St. Loe Livermore, by C. L. A. Read November 12, 1879.

EDWARD ST. LOE LIVERMORE, the subject of this sketch, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 5, 1762. He was the son of Samuel Livermore, a former chief justice of New Hampshire, and his wife, Jane, the daughter of the Rev. Arthur Browne, and was of the sixth generation in lineal descent from John Livermore, who emigrated to America in the bark "Frances," which sailed from Ipswich, England, during the year 1634.

John Livermore settled first in Watertown, Massachusetts, where he lived until 1665, when he removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut. From Wethersfield he went to New Haven, where his name appears in the town records as one of the signers of the fundamental agreement of the Colony of New Haven. In 1670 he returned to Watertown, where, after having filled many offices of trust, he died in 1685. His wife, Grace, died and was buried, in 1686, at Chelmsford, where visitors to the old rural graveyard may still see an ancient, moss-covered stone, "erected to her memory by her dutiful children."

Samuel Livermore, the great-grandson of John

NOTE.—The writer of this sketch is indebted for many dates and facts to Bond's "History of Watertown," "The Collections of the Historical Society of New Hampshire," Sprague's "American Ministers," Hildreth's "History of the United States," and other publications; but it has not been considered necessary, in so short a paper, to indicate in each case the source from which the information was derived.

Livermore, inherited from his uncle, Nathaniel, the homestead in Watertown, now known as the "Lyman Farm" in Waltham. His wife was a daughter of Deacon Brown, of Boston. He was "much trusted in municipal and church affairs," and died at the age of seventy-one years, in 1773, leaving four sons, all of whom became distinguished men.

Samuel Livermore was born in 1732. At the age of twenty he was graduated at Nassau Hall in New Jersey, and afterwards read law with Judge Trowbridge, at Beverly, Massachusetts. Soon after being admitted to the bar he settled in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where in 1759, he married Jane, the daughter of the Rev. Arthur Browne.

Arthur Browne was the first Episcopal minister settled in New Hampshire. He was born in 1699, in Drogheda, Ireland, and was a son of the Rev. John Browne, archdeacon of Elphin, a descendant of the Scottish family of Brownes of Coulstone. He was educated for the ministry at Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained by the Bishop of London. In 1729, under the auspices of the "British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," he was sent as missionary to Providence, Rhode Island. On his way thither he landed at Newport, where he remained about a year in charge of Trinity Church. He then went to Providence, where he was settled for several years as rector of King's—now St. John's—Church. In 1737 he was called to St. John's Church of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, of which he remained rector until a short time before his death, which occurred at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1773, while he was on a visit to his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Winwood Sargent. He was a man of great learning, and of a genial and benevolent dispo-

sition. Upon one occasion, as he was dining at the house of Governor Wentworth, where he was a frequent and welcome guest, he was ordered by the governor to perform the ceremony by which the maid-servant, Patty, became the governor's wife, Lady Wentworth—an incident which has since been celebrated in verse by Longfellow. The silver tankard which the governor took from the table at the conclusion of the ceremony, and gave to Arthur Browne, is still in the possession of his descendants.

Samuel Livermore soon became a successful lawyer, and was appointed attorney-general for the province, and king's advocate in the courts of admiralty. In 1765 he removed to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and in this town was born his son Arthur, who became a justice of the Supreme Court, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire, and member of Congress. About the year 1765 Samuel Livermore began the settlement of Holderness, in Grafton County. Of this place he was one of the original grantees, and he eventually became by purchase the owner of about one half of the township. There, on the banks of the Pemigewasset River, in 1769, he fixed his permanent residence, and lived in almost feudal state until his death. It is said that "he possessed but little less than absolute power over the inhabitants, his superiority of character adding to the influence he could naturally command from the extent of his possessions." The huge house which he built there is still known as the "Old Livermore Mansion," and is now used for the Episcopal Seminary for the diocese of New Hampshire. After the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, he was made State's attorney-general, and was several times a delegate to the Continental Congress. In 1782 he was appointed chief

justice of the State. He was a member of the convocation for the adoption of the Federal Constitution, under which he was a representative in the first Congress, and, later, a senator for nine years. He was for several years president *pro tempore* of the United States Senate. In 1803 he died, and was buried at Holderness, in the shadow of the church which he built, and which he had for many years supported. He and his wife were noted for their loving charities.

Edward St. Loe Livermore received his early education at Londonderry and Holderness, where his father's chaplain, the Rev. Robert Fowle, was his tutor. He studied law at Newburyport in the office of that distinguished jurist, Chief Justice Parsons. Upon being admitted to the bar he began the practice of law at Concord, New Hampshire, where he soon attained to a high position in his profession. Here, while still very young, he married his first wife, Mehitable, the daughter of Robert Harris, Esq. She died at the age of twenty-eight years, in 1793, leaving five children, all of whom are now dead. She was a highly educated, refined, and agreeable woman.

Judge Livermore's eldest son by his first marriage, Samuel, was educated at Harvard College. He was a friend of Captain Lawrence of the "Chesapeake," under whom he served as a volunteer chaplain in the celebrated sea-fight with the British frigate "Shannon," in which he was wounded and taken prisoner. He afterwards practised law in New Orleans, where he amassed a considerable fortune. He was the author of several treatises upon different branches of the law, which are still referred to as authorities. At his death he left to Harvard College his library of some thousand volumes, which was then the richest in America in works relating to the civil

law. His sister, Harriet, was widely known and respected as a traveller in the Holy Land.

Soon after the death of his first wife, Mr. Livermore removed to Portsmouth, where, in a short time, he became distinguished in professional and political life. He was appointed by President Washington, United States district attorney, an office which he held until 1798, when he was made justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. In 1799 he married Sarah Crease, the daughter of William Stackpole, a distinguished merchant of Boston. She has been well described as "a woman of sweet and amiable temper, with an entire absence from her character of envy, hatred, and uncharitableness." Her consistently Christian life and deportment warmly attached to her all who knew her or came within the sphere of her gentle, winning influence. Well might he said of her,

"None knew thee but to love thee,
None named thee but to praise."

She survived her husband many years, and died at Lowell, October 5, 1859.

In politics, Judge Livermore was a zealous Federalist, and took an active part in public affairs; but although he lived at a period when party feeling was intensely bitter, his gentlemanly and courteous bearing, and the urbanity of his manners gave him much personal influence even with his political opponents. After a faithful discharge for a few years of his duties as judge, he resigned his position upon the bench and resumed the practice of his profession.

In 1802 he took up his residence in Newburyport, where he soon became a leading citizen and was chosen to represent the town in the General Court of the State.

“His course there was so wise and judicious that he was chosen to represent the North Essex District, then so called, in Congress.” On the 22nd of December, 1807, Congress, upon recommendation of President Jefferson, passed the famous Embargo Act, which was intended “to countervail Napoleon’s Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in council.” Judge Livermore took an active part in the debates of the House upon the passage of this act, and, later, used all his endeavors to have it repealed. Upon this subject he made in particular one very forcible and eloquent speech, which won for him many laurels.

In 1811, after having served for three terms in Congress, he declined a re-election, and soon after removed from Newburyport to Boston, where he lived for some years a quiet life, taking no active part in public affairs. In 1813, at the request of the town authorities of Boston, he delivered the annual oration upon the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This oration was delivered at the height of the war of 1812, and about a month after the sanguinary combat off Boston Light between the “Chesapeake” and “Shannon” frigates, in which his son Samuel was engaged. The details of this combat being as yet unknown in Boston, there was naturally among the townspeople a feeling of great anxiety to learn the fate of their friends and relatives on board the “Chesapeake,” and this feeling was probably not unmingled with bitterness toward those who had involved the country in what many believed a causeless war. It was, therefore, with the apparent sympathy of his hearers that Judge Livermore criticised most severely the action of the American government which led to the war—which he believed unnecessary, and which had brought so much misery and suffering

upon the whole country, but especially upon the New England States—while he paid a deserved tribute of praise to the gallantry and patriotism of the navy whose exploits reflected so much lustre upon the American arms.

Soon after the close of the war of 1812, Judge Livermore caught the so-called "Western fever," and took his large family to Zanesville, Ohio, which was, at that time, looked upon as the "far West," with the intention of settling there. The comforts of civilization had not yet spread through that part of the new world. It was before the days of railways, and the long and tedious journey from the East had to be performed in carriages suited to the rough roads of the country. Judge Livermore and his family could not bring themselves to submit to the many deprivations and hardships necessarily attending a residence in the West at that time, and they therefore soon returned to Boston.

About 1816 Judge Livermore, desirous of passing the rest of his days removed from the bustle of city and political life, bought, far out in the country, in the town of Tewksbury, a quiet home farm of about two hundred acres, called the "Gedney Estate." The mansion house upon this estate was beautifully situated at the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers. Standing at an elevation of from forty to fifty feet above the water, it commanded a distant and lovely view of both the streams. Back of the house, upon the opposite side of the Merrimack, rose Dracut Heights, looming up as if to shield the spot from the north-wind. The house itself was a large, old, rambling building, and the tradition is that all its beams and woodwork were prepared in England, and brought to this country for a Mr. Brown, who bought the estate about the middle of the last century.

However this might be, it was certainly a lovely old mansion, a fit residence for its new owners, who brought to it high culture and breeding. Some of the older residents of the goodly city which has since sprung up about it may still remember the house as it then stood, with the lawn in front bordered on one side by a long avenue of Lombardy poplars—and may also remember the hospitality which made it so well known in the country about.

For many years Judge Livermore had associated with men prominent in letters and in politics, in this and other countries, and had taken an active part in the political transactions of the times, so that, being endowed with a comprehensive memory, he had at his command a large fund of anecdotes, and his conversation was agreeable and instructive to all with whom he came in contact. When he bought the Gedney estate in Tewksbury, he called it “Belvidere”—a most appropriate name for so beautiful a place. Until 1826 the nearest place of public worship was about two miles from “Belvidere,” at Pawtucket Falls, where the Rev. Mr. Sears, a Presbyterian minister, preached for many years, and here the Livermore family became constant attendants.

When the Merrimack Manufacturing Company was organized, a church was built for the benefit of Kirk Boott, his family, and other Episcopalians connected with the manufacturing establishment. At the first church meeting of the new parish, a pew was kindly placed at the disposal of Judge Livermore. He, with his family, continued to occupy this pew until his death, and it is still occupied by his eldest daughter, the only member of the family who now lives in Lowell. The first clergyman installed in this church was the Rev. Theodore Edson, the beloved pastor who still fulfils his duties with un-

wearied zeal, not unmindful of the exhortation of St. Paul to "rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep."

Judge Livermore lived to see a large and flourishing city grow up around the lonely spot he had selected for a quiet home, and to gather round his fireside neighbors who would have graced society in any city in the world. He died at "Belvidere" on the 15th of September, 1832, at the age of seventy years, and was buried in the old Granary Burying Ground in Boston. He left seven children by his second marriage, four of whom are still living, viz: Elizabeth Browne Livermore, who lives at Lowell and is unmarried; Caroline, the wife of Hon. J. G. Abbott, of Boston; Sarah Stackpole, wife of John Tatterson, Esq., of Southbridge, Mass.; and Mary Jane, wife of Hon. Daniel Saunders, of Lawrence.

Judge Livermore, although of a quick and hot temper, was a just, hospitable, upright man, with

"a tear for pity, and a hand
Open as day for melting charity."

The poor man never turned from his door empty-handed, or the afflicted without sympathy. He died in the sure hope of the resurrection of the dead and a life to come. "The memory of the just lives with the just."

Boston, September 14, 1879.

V.I. The Wyman Farm and its Owner, by Charles Hovey. Read February 4, 1880.

WERE the legitimacy of the ancestry of the people of this country in any doubt, it would be difficult to trace it by any of the characteristics or habits of their descendants. In the mother country, men and things move slowly. A century in Old England, when measured by results, is scarcely more than a generation in this country.

Our great men come up, as it were, in a night: disappear, and are forgotten about as soon. Our rich men buy land, build houses and call their estates "after their own names," but how fleeting are such names as compared with those of the mother country.

These thoughts are suggested by the title of this paper, which has been written partly for your edification, and partly to supply a link in the chain of events which is to make up the history of our city.

It is only about forty years since the late departed owner of this farm purchased it from a family of modest pretensions, that had held it for about the same length of time, but who had not attained prominence enough to give it a permanent name. The present name is now about to disappear, so that in another forty years there will be but few persons living who ever heard of the "Wyman Farm." All that will then be known of the

locality will be the names now given to the "avenues" and "streets" by the present owner. The children to be born will know Belmont, Shirley, Brandon and Pen-tucket Avenues, and the names of the streets which will intersect them, but will not be able to realize the fact which is now before *us*, that the places of their nativity were so recently covered with apple trees. It may then be as interesting to them to find in the records of this Old Residents' Association an early history of the locality where they were born, as it is for us to gather the traditions in regard to the Indians who inhabited this region a hundred years ago, or the certain landings of the ferries across Merrimack River before any bridges were built.

Some of the members of this Association will remember William Wyman, as once the postmaster of Lowell. He belonged to a class of men, whose numbers do not exceed one in a thousand, and to whom the world seems indebted for much of the progress that is made in it. His ideas of the future possibilities of Lowell were nearly half a century ahead of those of his neighbors. His actions kept pace with his expectations, and as the rest of the world moved so much slower than he did, it was a disappointment to him which resulted in pecuniary embarrassment.

Mr. Wyman was the second postmaster of Lowell, receiving his appointment from President Andrew Jackson in 1829, as successor to Jonathan Morrill. He was an earnest supporter and great admirer of General Jackson, before and during his first presidential term.

At the President's visit to Lowell on a bright day in June, 1833, Captain Wyman was "in his glory." He was an uncommonly handsome man, both in figure and features, and with his flowing locks and elegant mili-

tary dress, a prouder man never "mounted a steed." [An apology is due for using so poetical an expression in so plain a paper as this; but as applied to Captain Wyman it expresses much more than its equivalent, "rode on horseback."] His position as postmaster, together with his impulsive admiration of General Jackson, gave him a prominence in the reception surpassing that of any other politician. He was one of more than thirty assistant marshals, yet the impression made upon the writer, who was then a lad, exceeded that of any other man, not excepting the President of the United States. He was eccentric, and emphatically what is commonly called an independent man; that is, his impulses led him to do whatever he pleased, apparently regardless of consequences or of the opinion of his neighbors. This feature of his character was most prominent in his religious persuasion. He was a leading man in every religious body to which he attached himself. He built two meeting-houses; the first about the time the Second Advent doctrine was preached by Miller, who fixed the end of the world for the year 1843. It was a one-story building on Middle Street, afterwards occupied for ignoble purposes, and more recently for low-classed dwellings. Within the last year it was torn down, and another building erected for merchandizing.

The second was of a more pretentious character and was situated on Merrimack Street, nearly opposite John Street. It rested on *twelve* (the number was intentionally significant) piers, made of rubble-stone from the farm. It was used at different times by various religionists, but was finally occupied by a commercial college. The building was taken down last summer, and has been superseded by Davis Block. The recent destruction of Classic Hall building and the erection of Albion Block in

its place, has, it is believed, removed the last, so that there is now no building in the city which was built by Captain William Wyman.

It was not many months after the President's visit that Captain Wyman had occasion to go to Washington to secure a re-appointment as postmaster, for a second term. He failed in this, and was informed of the appointment of his successor while he was absent from home. It is said that on returning to his house, and before saluting any member of his family, he walked directly to a picture of his old friend, General Jackson, which hung in the parlor, and turned the face to the wall.

His dwelling at that time was the most easterly one of four cottages which stood on the north side of Merri-mack Street, and as remembered, the identical locality where this Association is this moment assembled—about midway between Kirk and John Streets, respectively, before either of them was opened as a street. He removed from the cottage to a house on Gorham Street, where he lived a few years, and until he occupied the new buildings at the farm.

The farm was conveyed to him by Clarissa Hunt, the widow of Ebenezer Hunt, by deed dated the last day of the year 1840. It is assumed that her title came by inheritance from her departed husband, whose deed was dated March 4, 1802, conveying the "Lynde Hill Estate." The "consideration" expressed in Captain Wyman's deed is seven thousand dollars. The farm is situated mostly on the easterly side of the hill. It contains a little less than fifty acres, including two purchases of small lots of John and Thomas Nesmith. It is bounded on the north by land of General B. F. Butler, on the east by land of Charles Hovey and the heirs of David Dickey,

and on the south and west by various owners and including the reservoir of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals. At the time of the purchase, it was covered with a heavy growth of timber and wood, which was sold in lots at auction, and soon removed.

Captain Wyman at once erected five houses and barns, not very unlike in appearance, connecting them by a one story passage, making a line of buildings more than two hundred feet in length. From these buildings the land sloped both to the east and west. In describing the beauty of the locality the captain would say—“I can lie in my bed in the morning and see the sun rise; then turn over and see the moon set.”

The buildings on the easterly side were all placed exactly on the boundary line between Lowell and Tewksbury. This line was changed a few years ago, and now embraces the larger part of the farm.

Captain Wyman began at once to improve the place, and either planted the stones for or set out not less than a thousand peach trees. In this climate they are very short-lived, and were soon superseded by about the same number of apple trees. What of these have not been removed in making the new streets are now standing on the farm.

After he had occupied the premises a few years, he conceived the idea of erecting an observatory for public use, in which he was to be aided by the subscription of parties whom he might interest in the project. It is not known how much money was collected, but it was generally understood that the name “Appleton Observatory” was a compliment to the largest contributor. The foundation was placed on the highest point of land and still remains on the easterly side of Belmont Avenue, as it is laid out on the new plan. No superstructure has

ever appeared. In reply to a question of one of his family as to the object of the Observatory, he said, in his usual humorous manner. "A great many young men come from New Hampshire to Lowell who have never seen Boston. If they visit the Observatory they can see Boston."

His aspirations did not cease until he ceased to breathe. Late in life his sons deemed it prudent to restrain him from embarking in any new enterprise, and modestly suggested his leaning upon them. The old gentleman was quite indignant, and to give emphasis to his words he widely uncovered one eye with his fingers and looking sharply said — "Anything look like fail there?"

Captain Wyman died in 1864. In the settlement of the estate the farm was sold at public auction and was bid in by the mortgagee for the amount of his claim, which with accumulated interest was understood to be about eighteen thousand dollars.

The present owner, Samuel G. Wyman, of Baltimore, has had it surveyed and laid out with avenues and streets, all fifty feet wide, aggregating more than two and a quarter miles in length, and occupying thirteen acres, or more than a fourth of the whole area of the farm. He has adopted the eminently practical mode of running the avenues north and south and the streets east and west. Some of these are nearly completed, and in the spring next before us will afford one of the most sightly and beautiful rides in this vicinity. There are two hundred and fourteen building lots, averaging about one mile distant from the postoffice. For beauty and healthfulness of location some of them are not excelled in Middlesex County.

Most of the gentlemen present will remember the

very excellent contribution which Ephraim Brown read to us at the annual meeting in May, 1877. It was entitled "Lowell and the Monadnocks," and is printed in the first volume of contributions to this Association. In it he made a most useful suggestion, which has not yet been adopted. As the suggestion will well bear a second reading, it is now quoted. Mr. Brown, after describing in detail the mountains visible from Lowell, says:—

"Here I make a practical and eminently useful suggestion. It is altogether probable that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Lowell do not know the names of these mountains. Some indeed, do know that they are in New Hampshire, but cannot tell the specific name of one; cannot even point out Grand Monadnock, much less Pack Monadnock range. People are here, born upon their sides, who cannot specify from the reservoir the name and direction of the spot that gave them birth, although it is in plain sight, having never made the observation.

"Our school children learn slowly from our school geographies. They get the names; they do not get the places, and like the scholar at one of our public school examinations a few years ago, who had twice a day crossed the mouth of Concord River for many years and could not tell where the mouth of Concord River was, they live in sight of these mountains for years and recite their names at school yet do not know that the name, Grand Monadnock, and the towering pinnacles visible from their own doors belong to the same group.

"Strangers come to Lowell—learned men, scholarly men, teachers. Our citizens are proud to exhibit the works and beauties of our busy city. They go to the Reservoir. . . . Is it a credit to our existence as a municipality, that visitors not only from our own country,

but from other countries as well, must feast their eyes upon Grand Monadnock and turn away unenlightened from the view, just because the possessors and exhibitors of these sublime and beautiful landscape views did not themselves know?

“There are outline maps of this beautiful region, with the name of every mountain visible from either reservoir in Lowell, placed in juxtaposition to the mountain. Let there be an enlarged drawing of these maps by a skilful artist or engineer. Let there be a few additions of positions not now upon them. Let every prominent eminence have its name appended to it. Let this map be placed upon the bank of the reservoir substantially and as a permanent fixture. Make it indestructible. If need be make it in metal—even in bronze. Place another on the top of the gatehouse. Nay: I go farther. Erect stone and metallic pedestals on the western bank of the reservoir—one for every mountain. On each of these pedestals erect the classic arrow—one for every mountain, with its name cast in metal on the feather.

“Let each arrow be immovably fixed upon its pedestal pointing to its mountain—these silent but truthful teachers to stand till time shall be no more and these mountains flee away.”

On the plan of the Wyman farm, which hangs in this room for your inspection, there is a vacant space adjoining the reservoir of the Locks and Canals Company, on its easterly side, not large enough for a house lot but abundantly ample to carry out Mr. Brown's suggestion.

It would be a singular coincidence, if after so many years, the accidental laying out of the homestead farm should result in the erection of a structure at once the

literal pinnacle of the owner's ambition, the pride of his family and townsmen, the constant resort of earnest school children and withal a most appropriate monument, both in conception and location, to the memory of WILLIAM WYMAN.

VII. Biography of John Dummer, by James S. Russell. Read November 9, 1880.

IN the town of Bishopstoke, Hants County, England, on the present railroad from London to Southampton, about eighty miles southwest from London, and six miles from Southampton, lived a man bearing a name which is familiar to many of those present. John Dummer was born about 1575, somewhat over three hundred years ago. He is presumed to have been a man of wealth and of high consideration in his vicinity, from the character and high position taken by his three sons, who emigrated to this country. They were Richard, Stephen and Thomas. But I am chiefly concerned with Richard, the elder, who was born in England, about 1599, and came by the ship "Whale," arriving May 26, 1632. "He first sat down in Roxbury, where he built a mill in 1633."

He soon removed to Boston, at the desire of his wife, Mary, who probably preferred a metropolitan to a frontier life; but she soon died, and he removed to Ipswich, and thence to Newbury with the early settlers. In May, 1635, the General Court ordered Humphrey, Endicott, Turner and Trask to set out a farm for Mr. Dummer, about the falls of Newbury, not exceeding the quantity of five hundred acres, provided it be not prejudicial to Newbury. At the same time liberty was granted to Richard Dummer and John Spencer to build

a mill and weir at the falls of Newbury, "with such privileges of ground and timber as is expressed between them and the town, to enjoy to them and their heirs forever."

At the same Court (May 1635) it was ordered that Richard Dummer and Mr. Bartholomew shall set out a convenient quantity of land within the bounds of Newbury for the keeping of the sheep and cattle that came over in the Dutch ships this year, and to belong to the owners of said cattle. Richard Saltonstall, Richard Dummer, Henry Sewall, and divers other gentlemen of England. At length Richard Dummer acquired ten hundred and eighty acres of land, four hundred and fifty acres more than Henry Sewall, his nephew by marriage, who stood next highest in amount of land possessed.

Richard Dummer was one of the fathers of Massachusetts, and was chosen a magistrate numerous times. He warmly espoused the cause of Henry Vane, was one of the disarmed adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson; and no man, says Eliot, more deserved the praise of doing well. He was very rich and equally benevolent, contributing greatly to the improvement and growth of that part of Newbury, where he lived.

"May 16, 1640, in consequence of the great loss which Governor Winthrop suffered in his outward estate, through the unfaithfulness of his bailiff, the elders agreed that supply should be sent in from the several towns. The generosity of Richard Dummer is above all praise. His contribution is fifty per cent. above the whole tax of his town, and equal to half the benevolence of the whole metropolis. Yet he had been a sufferer under the mistaken views of Winthrop and other triumphant sound religionists."

The lands upon which the Dummer Academy was

built were his, and were left for the support of this institution. The house in which he lived stood a few rods southeast of the present mansion house.

For his second wife he married Mrs. Frances Burr, the widow of the Rev. Jonathan Burr, of Dorchester, in 1644. His children were Shubael, Jeremiah, Hannah, Richard and William.

Shubael graduated at Harvard College in 1656, and became a clergyman at York, Maine.

Of Jeremiah, the Rev. Dr. Chauncy says, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, 1768: "Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, Mr. John Buckley and Mr. Thomas Walter, of Roxbury, I reckon the first three clergymen, for extent and strength of genius and power, New England has yet produced."

William Dummer, the son of Jeremiah, was perhaps the most distinguished of the Dummer family. In the beginning of the reign of George I. he was appointed our Lieutenant-Governor. Upon the return of Col. Shute to Great Britain, the chief command of the province devolved upon him. In this station, he appeared with distinguished taste. The wise, incorrupt and successful administration of Mr. Dummer, will always be remembered with honor, and considered as a pattern worthy of imitation of all future governors. Douglass always styles it the wise administration of Dummer. He was in the chair from November, 1722, to July, 1728; and again from Gov. Burnet's death, September, 1729, to April, 1730. He died October 10, 1761, leaving no children. By his will he gave his valuable farm and stately mansion house, for the endowment of the Dummer Academy, which was the first incorporated academy in the state.

But Richard, the third son of Richard, and grandson of John, was in the direct line to the John of our ac-

quaintance. He was born January 13, 1650; his mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of John Appleton, of Ipswich. He was made freeman in 1677, was of the Council of Safety, and representative to Court for three sessions. He died October 11, 1695. His children were Hannah, John, Richard, Richard, Elizabeth, Nathaniel and Shubael. Of these Nathaniel is in the line of our consideration. He was born in 1685, married Sarah Moody, in 1719, and had for children Mehitabel, Richard, William, Shubael and Samuel. He was a man of character and substance, dealt largely in real estate, and at his death, February 27, 1767, aged 82, he divided his real estate among his sons, Richard, William and Shubael; his household stuff to his daughter Mehitabel, and to his youngest son, Samuel, £133. 6s. 8d. in money. Samuel was the grandfather of our friend, John Dummer; and had for children by his wife, Eunice Noyes, married May 16, 1765, Sarah, John, Daniel, Mehitabel, Joshua and Samuel. In this generation, so far as I can learn, first appears that vein of oddity so conspicuous in the character of the recent John Dummer. Daniel, of this family, was insane for many years. And John, the next in the line, was peculiar, says Mrs. Kent, his niece, an elderly lady, at present, but who lived in the same house with him. He kept by himself, never went away from home, was silent, never talking with her or other children, as they came about him while working in his garden. This John, the father of the late John, was born about 1769, and married Susannah Duty, May 1789, and had for children Mehitabel, John, Katherine and William. One of the daughters married a blacksmith in Newburyport, said to be an industrious and respectable man. William was drowned at adult age. His brother John had undertaken to train him for a useful mechanic and worthy citizen,

but the premature death of his brother disappointed his generous purpose.

John Dummer, the subject of this biography, was born in 1791. His son Edward, his only surviving child (his other son and two daughters, lying buried in the Lowell Cemetery), writes me: "I thought I could easily get facts concerning the early life of my father; but on looking about I find that all the old people that would know about him, when young, are dead. I have been able to learn simply, that at about eleven years he went to work for a brother of Paul Moody, at farming, and worked there about three years: that he was a faithful worker, and displayed great ingenuity for one of that age. He attracted the attention of Paul Moody, who wished to give him a chance at the millwright business. He had only such school education as he could get in the winter, at a country school.

"One thing I would like to have told you; that he is said to have built the only mill that was ever built in Lowell without Sunday work. Notice was taken of it at the time, in the newspapers. He took the job by contract. It was at a cost to him of five hundred dollars. He often said since, that it was only a question of dollars and cents whether there was Sunday work or otherwise.

"It was said that we had the well giving the purest water in the city; and I remember a piece in the *Journal*, in the poetical vein, acknowledging the fact. That well had a history, as also did our house, since both were built after a contest with the Merrimack Company, who were building a house to be occupied by my father, he objecting to it, because they would persist in putting the well, as he thought, too near the vault."

Now, very many of us remember that well, standing

in Mr. Dummer's front yard, near the street, accessible to the public; and that few minutes in the day was the pump-handle idle. The well is now covered up by a grocery store, annexed to the main house, at the corner of Market and Dummer Streets.

David Moody writes that John Dummer came from Byfield to Waltham, in 1815. "My father knowing him to be such a kind of workman as he wanted, made him foreman of the water-wheel and pattern work, &c. All of the water-wheels and patterns of machinery for the Boston and Waltham Manufacturing Company, up to 1822, were made by him, or others under him. His work was just what was wanted; had it not been for that I doubt he never would have been known. He was extremely odd, reticent; never put confidence in any one. I don't think his wife knew much about him. Twice he left Waltham without giving any notice; and no one knew where he went to. After a time he was heard from at Byfield. Being persuaded to return, he was found at his work one morning, and nothing having been said about his absence, he continued to stay. In 1822, he went to Lowell, then Chelmsford. I never knew of his belonging to any church, society, or anything of a social nature.

"In the year 1822, John Dummer and myself went up the Merrimack River, near Nashua, brought down a raft of logs, to the Stony Brook saw-mill, and there got out the lumber for the first two wheels of the Merrimack mill."

There are some statements in Mr. Moody's letter, that need qualifying. Mr. Dummer may not have been a *bona-fide* church-member; but he, before marriage, attended regularly at St. Anne's Church; and after his marriage he had a pew at St. Anne's; also at the First

Congregational Church, where his wife preferred to worship. In 1834, however, he gave up his pew at St. Anne's and went with his wife. He always took his family to church, he leaving his house last, locking the door after him. His son says; "In looking over my father's papers, I find a parchment certificate as follows: John Dummer admitted to third degree of Masonry, Monitor Lodge, Waltham; signed, January 15, 1822." He also says his father was a member of a military company in Lowell. True, he was not of a social nature. On being over-persuaded to attend a gathering of friends at the Rev. Mr. Blanchard's house, on the opposite side of the street, he was present; but he said to his wife, he must either give up his business, or give up all parties.

Mr. Dummer's wife *did* know him much, even before their marriage, as she had ample opportunity, since they were engaged to each other full thirteen years before their marriage, the ceremony of which was performed in Boston, February 9, 1830, by the Rev. William Jenks, D. D. While they both lived in Waltham, she, an operative in the mill with her younger sister, they were familiar with each other. Many a time John Dummer and Marinda Russell, Thomas Blake and Susan Russell, came from Waltham to Carlisle to visit the young ladies' parents—my uncle and aunt. Their fine horses and chaises were always put up at my father's barn, a half a mile distant, as our accommodations were more ample, we having a larger house and fewer children. Mr. Blake was more gallant and sociable, but Mr. Dummer was considered the greater "catch" for the sisters.

Mr. Dummer was reasonably attentive, during those, to her, long years of waiting. He gave her additional means of education; and she then and always, had a

salutary influence upon him. She knew him well, and adapted herself to his peculiarities. She was a helpmeet indeed. He provided liberally for his family, in that he furnished the money with which a bureau drawer was always supplied, to which Mrs. Dummer resorted freely, for whatever was needed for food, clothes, or other family purposes, without being called to account. He reposed full confidence in her judgment and yielded to her influence, by which he was more of a man and less of a hermit than he otherwise would have been. He was kind and generous to his family and pleased at their happiness, but little demonstrative in showing it. He was tender and humane, even to the lower animals. One time his young boy begged for permission to take home a kitten from a neighbor's house; but was refused. The boy was afterwards employed to throw into the canal a bag loaded with a brick and those kittens. The bag lodged near the edge of the water, and the boy ran away. But not long after the father came that way; and observing one of the kittens proclaiming its peril, he had compassion upon it, took home and cherished the very kitten his boy had desired. He would hold a newspaper for an obtrusive spider to crawl upon, and carefully brush it out of the window; he would not suffer to be shot a mad dog shut into his shed.

Mr. Dummer would supply his children with spending money for innocent amusements, but would scrupulously withhold it from their indulgence in anything of a doubtful character.

Mr. Dummer was generous to benevolent objects. When his son was ready to enter college, the father inquired what college he preferred. The answer was, "Yale." "Why not go to Oberlin?" "Why do you wish me to go to Oberlin?" "Because I have a scholar-

ship there, which you might have the benefit of." The son, however, went to Yale and the scholarship was unselfishly permitted to be enjoyed by strangers.

He was supposed to be the moneyed man of the family, and was urged to purchase a Dummer homestead, to prevent its going out of the family. This he did, and permitted an uncle to occupy the farm and mills, and bring up there a family of boys without ever paying a cent for rent.

He never took a cent of interest money, deeming such act usury. When he built his house on Dummer Street, he had \$3000 in his chest, that had gradually accumulated there. He was not an economist; he was too much engrossed in business to take care of his money; with the ordinary care in that regard he might have retired from business with an ample fortune, instead of passing his later days in humble retirement.

When he sold real estate, he would have nothing to do with a mortgage; nothing short of cash down would satisfy him. Hence the purchaser would borrow money and mortgage the property to a third party.

When his son of a dozen years old visited the Byfield farm, he was enamored with a pair of steers, and he persuaded his father to give the steers to him. When it became expedient to sell the steers, the avails were \$80. "Well, my son, what will you do with the money?" "Put it at interest." "Let me have it; I will pay you the interest." This was done, and the interest for a time was regularly paid; but at length both interest and principal were forgotten. After Mr. Dummer's death, among his papers were found forty two-dollar bills, new and unruffled. They were presumed to be the identical avails of the steers. They were the issue of a Boston state bank, and the time for their redemption had passed:

but the bank, notwithstanding, redeemed them, as a great curiosity.

Mr. Moody says Mr. Dummer came to Waltham in 1815. He was then twenty-four years old. He went from the farm to his uncle's to serve in learning the joiner's and millwright business. At Newbury Falls, on the Dummer land, was built one of the first cotton mills in this country. Here John Dummer, with his uncle Samuel, both probably under either Paul Moody or his brother, entered upon his life's business.

At Lowell, from 1822, as well as at Waltham before, the responsibility for all the wheel-work, shafting and patterns of machinery devolved upon him; and he was fully adequate to the work, while wooden wheels were in use. But when iron displaced the wood, Mr. Dummer considered his vocation gone, his usefulness at an end. He sold out his property in Lowell and retired to the privacy of his farm in Byfield—his native place—to live over the scenes of his childhood, to reflect upon the vicissitudes of life, and submit to the inevitable. He never would look at a turbine wheel; but yet had the curiosity to depute one of his trusty workmen to report to him how it operated, how the water entered and left the wheel, &c.

In talking with the men who worked with him and for him, I find them enthusiastic in eulogy of his character. He was always kind to his workmen, liberal in the wages he paid, on his own jobs, and an earnest advocate for a like liberality on the part of the companies when working directly for them. On one occasion, when the reduction of wages was becoming common, he resisted its application to his own men, to the extent of taking the work by the job and continuing to his men their usual wages.

On his contract work he did not require his men to work by artificial light; and when he was working directly for the companies he opposed working by lamp-light. Small hand-lamps were provided for his men; but he would go round and raise the wicks till the smoke was suffocating, to increase the light or prove the lamps insufficient. They were thrown aside and the workmen excused. When called to account, why his men did not work evenings, he says: "They have no light." "But you were supplied with lamps." "They were good for nothing," says Dummer. "Well, what do you want?" "I want seventy-five solar lamps!" This was enough to show that it was useless to urge the matter any further.

Men that were faithful to him ever found him their friend. But if one neglected his work, concealed any unfortunate mistakes, as spoiling a timber, or in any way lacked proper honesty and manliness, Mr. Dummer penetrated the affair as if by instinct, and was unsparing in his indignation; or if a workman became dissatisfied and complained that he did not fare as well as somebody else who had been advanced, his answer was a prompt discharge. Such men were afraid of him, and would employ some fellow-workman, who was in better favor with Mr. Dummer, to intercede with him for a restoration. Such negotiation was generally successful. He would leniently say, "Tell him to bring on his chest and go to work," no allusion being made to former difficulties.

Mr. Dummer was excitable, and of a hasty spirit, and would sometimes overdo his censures, but he was placable; though not, perhaps, making a direct apology, he would by extra attention endeavor to do away with the grievance. He could enjoy a joke, and perpetrate one himself. On one occasion of opening a trench for a

penstock, the caving of the bank enclosed a workman up to his middle. Dummer, with a sly wink, says—"Better not dig him out. It won't pay." He directed a certain workman to take a heavy chain to the guard-lock—meaning a place by that name near by. But after a long absence of that man, no one knowing where he was, he returned at last hopping mad at being made a "cart-horse," but only to be laughed at by Dummer and all hands, for his folly and blunder in going off a mile or more, to the guard locks of the great canal, on a tom-fool's errand, with his heavy burden.

Whatever work was done under Mr. Dummer was well done, as much of it that remains in the earlier-built mills, after a half century's constant use, will abundantly testify. No poor timber was allowed to be used. It was promptly condemned, to the grief of the contractors and sometimes to his own grief, as one of his workmen tells me. A large and valuable stick, upon which much work had been performed, was condemned for having an imperfect spot, no bigger or thicker than a man's hand, which might have been cut out and replaced, looking as well and being as strong as ever. And this was at a loss of twenty-five or thirty dollars to his own pocket.

I am informed by one of our most respectable citizens that he was one of the many who visited the first wheel put into the Merrimack Mills. It was an immense and beautiful structure, in all parts smoothed and finished like cabinet work.

Mr. Dummer was authority in his line of business. "Nobody could tell him anything," says one of his workmen. There were only two men to whom he would defer. They were Paul Moody and Patrick T. Jackson. He would receive any suggestion from them, or waive

any opinion of his own in deference to them. Once on showing to Mr. Jackson some contrivance of his, and Mr. Jackson expressing some doubt of its feasibility, Mr. Dummer promptly smashed it to pieces. But had anybody else doubted its success, he would have received it with contempt.

Mr. Moody had favored him and confided in him, and Mr. Dummer was ever grateful and loyal in return. Once a wheel of given dimensions was prepared for a pit, but on trial the pit was found too narrow by three or four inches. Mr. Dummer says—"That pit must be widened." "But you must consider what immense labor and expense it involves, to hew off that amount of stone." "It can be done," says Dummer.

Mr. Boott once came to him with a project. Says Mr. Dummer—"That won't work." "But why will it not work?" "I tell you it won't work." Suffice it to say, it was not insisted upon. Mr. Dummer could not bear to be teased by any suggestions or interference, or oversight of the dignitaries in authority. On another occasion Mr. Boott visited his works with a company of his friends, to gratify their curiosity. Mr. Dummer says to his workmen, "Take your tools and come with me." His work was so necessary to the authorities that they yielded to his arbitrary decisions.

Mr. Dummer was physically only of medium stature, but of great strength for one of his size; and never hesitated in emergencies to "lend a hand." Says one who was a young man at that time, that he and Mr. Dummer made one of three pairs of men to carry a heavy piece of shafting, they on the lead. He knew Dummer's strength and quickness, and was on the lookout to be quick enough to throw the heavier burden upon his mate; and they were quick enough to throw the heavier

burden in the rear, where the men, with bent backs, unable to straighten, were admonished by Mr. Dummer to "Hold it higher; hold it breast-high, and you will carry it easier." Dummer enjoyed his advantage; he liked to show off his strength.

It is thought that the weakness in his back, with which he was troubled in after life, was the result of his over-exertions in lifting and otherwise straining.

Mr. Dummer was an accurate man. When he saw a man marking off his lengths with a coarse pencil, he would say: "That's no way to measure;" and then put the point of his pen-knife at the end of the rule, and hold it there to govern the next length. He would examine the tools of a new hand: and if they were not in good condition, to put them in such condition was the first business. If the saw was dull, he would say—"Take it to that man there. Tell him I sent you!"

If he should make a mistake, which was of rare occurrence, no one was ever the wiser for it. He did not reveal his plans in advance. He would assign a man a limited amount of work, with specific instructions, and would not have him apply for a repetition of them. An application for such would most likely meet with a discharge and "blowing up." He did not exhibit extensive plans and drawings to his workmen. He generally kept them in his own head. It was thought by some that he withheld them to guard against instructing and raising up a rival in his business.

A foot-rule served him on all occasions. With it he would not only take his measurements, but would use it in drawing his illustrations in the sand or snow; and with these simple measurements he would make his minute and accurate calculations while walking the street, or in the retirement of his chamber. His mind was

crowded with his business ; he must have his plans ready for each of his numerous workmen as he visited them in his daily rounds. Each man was expected to be at his bench, even if the work assigned him had been completed for hours, or even days before, as was sometimes the case when a long job had been on hand. Such were the times for sharpening the tools. No deduction in wages was ever made for such lost time. "But and if an evil servant shall say in his heart, My Lord delayeth his coming," and should leave his post, "the Lord of that servant shall come in an hour that he is not aware of, and appoint his portion with"—outsiders.

Mr. Dummer was considered odd ; but his oddity was that of genius. His mind was so engrossed by his business he had no time for the common trifles and courtesies of social life. He was sufficiently independent to repel by silence any encroachments upon his time when they would interrupt his study. But he had his times of relaxation, when he could enjoy intercourse with a friend. I have been to his house and received from him only a cold recognition : and I have found him at other times affable and ready to converse. I was detained by him one evening till the small hours, conversing upon the sublime science of astronomy. He displayed much thought, and was inclined to draw me out.

Mr. Dummer was an honest man—"true and just in all his dealings." No man could justly say that he dealt unfairly by him.

Mr. Dummer was one of Lowell's most able mechanics. Few people now know to what degree the Lowell manufacturing corporations are indebted to John Dummer for their distinguished success.

The mechanics of Lowell have a noble institution. Its halls are graced with the portraits of their prominent patrons and capitalists. But where are the faces of the prominent mechanics? It would seem that they were entitled to the place of honor. The face of John Dummer was never photographed. His body lies mingling its dust with the earth of the Lowell Cemetery, undistinguished by the simplest headstone! It was at the expense of much time and labor that his grave could be identified, that the body of his honored wife might be laid by his side. The lot having two fronts, inasmuch as the lots on each side fronted in opposite ways, it was not known which corner his body occupied. Recently, on the constructive Fourth of July, under the meridian sun, the bells ringing and the cannon booming, as we may imagine in honor of the reunion of the bodies of that honored couple, as well as the reunion of their sympathetic souls, I was one of only three unofficial witnesses of her burial; and that was more than witnessed the burial of the husband, some fifteen years ago, at the mature age of over seventy-three years and nine months. It is sad that one whose usefulness was so great should be buried in such obscurity, and his memory so soon pass to oblivion.

Can the mechanics of Lowell, who were so honored by him, and the corporations of Lowell, who were so benefited by his genius, do less than raise a mausoleum to his memory?

The children of John Dummer, late of Lowell, were Marinda, John, Mehitabel and Edward. The three elder died before adult age, victims of wasting consumption.

Edward is a worthy descendant of a noble family, born in Lowell, February 20, 1842, a graduate of Yale

College, in 1865. He was married March 28, 1879, to Sarah M. Barrows, daughter of Prof. E. P. Barrows, of Oberlin College. He is a gentleman and scholar, a mechanic, inheriting in a good degree the genius, without the other peculiarities, of his father. He is the originator of several useful patents of his own, and a solicitor of patents for other parties. At the age of thirty-eight years he is the happy father of a male descendant of this long line of worthy ancestors, extending back, as I have delineated, from this infant too young to receive a name, through Edward, John, John, Samuel, Nathaniel, Richard, Richard, to John senior, born over three hundred years ago.

The coat of arms of the family, by usage, was Argent, three fleurs-de-lis; Or, on a chief of the second, a demi-lion; Crest, a demi-lion, holding in dexter paw a fleur-de-lis.

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THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

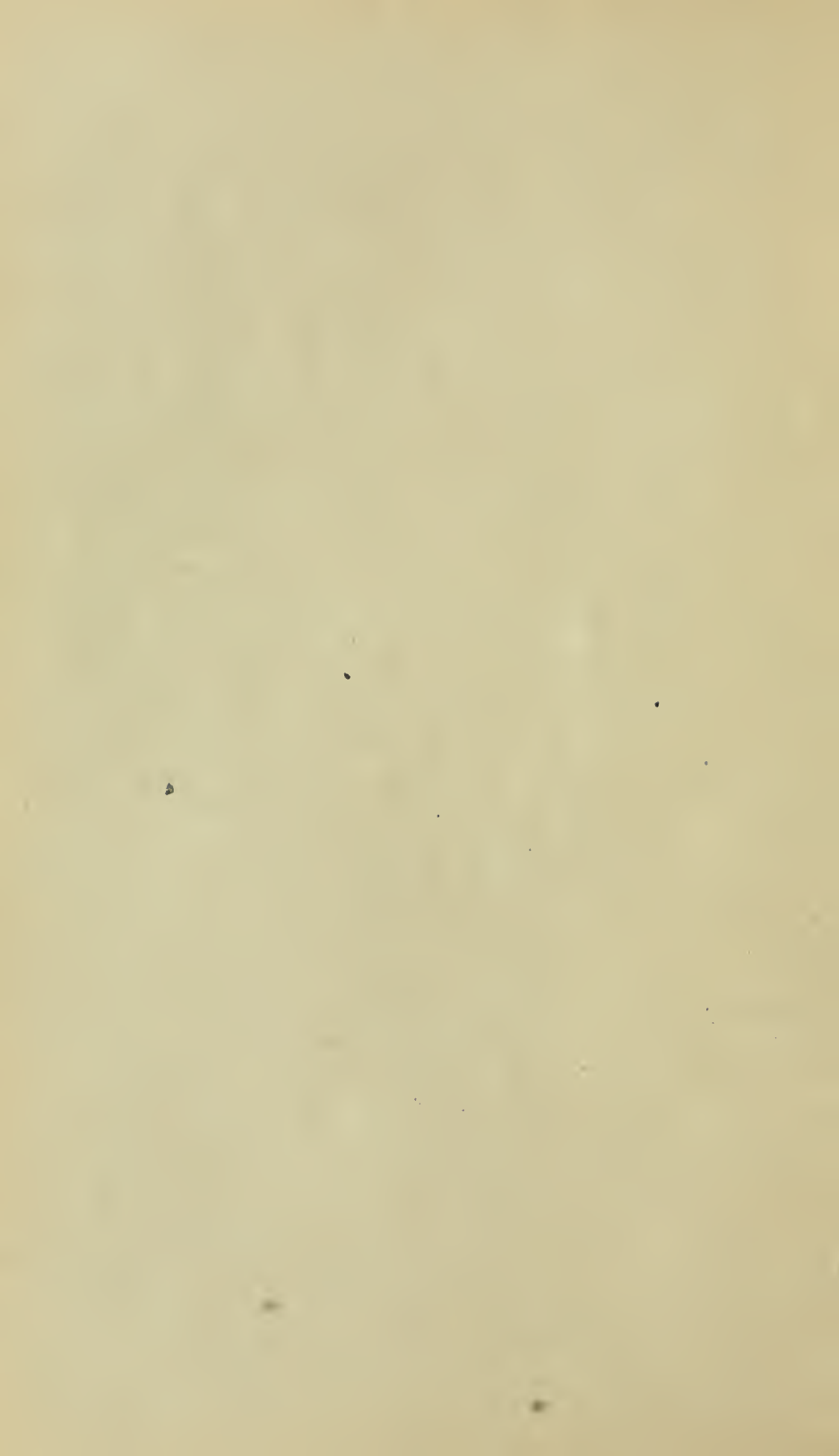
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W. H. H. H.

1865

VIII. Sketch of the Life of John Amory Lowell.

BORN, NOVEMBER 11, 1798; DIED, OCTOBER 31, 1881.

JOHN AMORY LOWELL was the son of John Lowell, a trusted leader of the Federal party, and grandson of Judge Lowell, of the United States Circuit Court, the nephew and son-in-law of Francis C. Lowell, for whom the City of Lowell was named, and brother-in-law of the founder of the Lowell Institute. His maternal grandfather was John Amory, one of the most successful merchants of the last century.

Graduated from Harvard College at the age of sixteen, Mr. Lowell's business education was begun in the house of Kirk Boott & Sons, to whose business he succeeded in partnership with the eldest son, Mr. John Wright Boott.

In 1827, he became the Treasurer of the Boston Company, at Waltham, immediately following Mr. Patrick T. Jackson. He held this office until 1844.

During the management of Mr. Kirk Boott, as Agent and Treasurer of the Merrimack Company, Mr. Lowell made most of the purchases of materials in Boston, and was at the same time active in the administration of the Locks and Canals.

In 1835, he built the Boott Mills, of which he was the Treasurer for thirteen years, and as President and Director until the hour of his death, contributed largely to its success.

In 1839, he built the Massachusetts Mills, of which he was also Treasurer until 1848, and with which he remained connected as Director through life.

He was also a Director of the Lake Company from the start, as well as of the Lowell Machine Shop, the Merrimack and many other of the most prominent companies of this city.

Mr. Appleton, in his History of the Origin of Lowell, says of him: "There is no man whose beneficial influence in establishing salutary regulations in relation to this manufacture, was exceeded by that of Mr. John Amory Lowell."

Mr. Lowell was associated with Mr. Abbott Lawrence and other gentlemen, in the creation of the City of Lawrence, the Essex Company, and especially of the Pacific Mills, of which he continued to be a Director until the weight of years warned him to relinquish some portion of his vast responsibilities.

Mr. Lowell's services to the manufacturing interests of our community can hardly be overstated. Beginning his career as an associate of men who have left their impress upon American manufactures, and whose far-reaching sagacity and large-heartedness have made of Lowell the model manufacturing city of this country, Mr. Lowell was fully their peer in ability, but not in age, and he brought their traditions down to the present generation in the steady maintenance of the policy they inaugurated, and that generous treatment of the operatives which often considered their interests in running the mills at times when it could only be done at serious risk to that of the owners.

Mr. Lowell was for fifty-nine years a Director of the Suffolk Bank of Boston, and originated in 1824 the system for the redemption of country bank bills, which

gave to Massachusetts an almost faultless currency. He was also largely connected with the literary and educational progress of the community as one of the Fellows of Harvard College for forty years, and the sole Trustee of the Lowell Institute for even a longer period.

Mr. Lowell was distinguished as an accomplished classical scholar, an eminent mathematician, an able botanist and rare linguist. His character was marked by fearlessness, sound judgment, and a strong sense of justice. Ever ready to give to any cause which appealed to his generosity, he never paraded his gifts, but with characteristic modesty rarely suffered his left hand to know what his right hand was doing. He delighted in aiding younger men, and many, now prosperous, look back with gratitude to a time when his counsel and assistance marked the turning-point of their lives.

Such a union of business capacity, literary and scientific attainments, unsullied integrity, and unostentatious generosity, formed a rare combination, and enabled him, in a long life of untiring industry, to do much for the advancement of his generation, and to add lustre to the honored name he bore.

IX. George Thompson, the English Philanthropist, in Lowell, by Z. E. Stone. Read August 5, 1874; Revised December, 1881.

THE future historian of Lowell, when writing of the events of to-day, will hardly realize the difficulties of those who at the present time attempt to collect the facts of moment that transpired forty or fifty years ago. He will find in that "map of busy life"—the newspaper—much more than he can make available. The local matter in the public prints of forty odd years ago was meagre in amount and barren in detail. The political papers were partisan in the extreme and reported only the proceedings of their respective parties; if they noticed the public meetings of their opponents it was, usually, to misrepresent them. Now it seems to be the mission of the press to bruit abroad about everything transpiring in city or country. Political conventions of all parties are fairly reported in the daily papers, and the details of primary meetings are not unfrequently given, while three or four columns are filled with the transactions of an important political gathering. If Mr. A enlarges his woodshed the local reporter obtains the facts and gives an anxious public the dimensions and cost of the "improvement." If Mr. B goes to the seaside or the mountains to spend a week, his friends and the burglars are made aware of the fact through the newspapers. If Mrs. C presents Mr. C with additional evidence that New England women are *not* degenerating,

the fact is often considered worthy of mention in a facetious paragraph. The recollections of "the oldest inhabitant," and the success of the enterprising farmer who gets into market the earliest vegetables, are equally worthy of record. In short, much space in every newspaper of to-day is given up to details of matters and things which neighborhood gossips of former years would have regarded as too unimportant for *their* entertainment even. Who better than the editor and reporter know this to be true? But this state of things would not exist did it not find public approval. So, the fact established, we repeat, the future historian will find his task an easy one, compared with that of ours, in searching for details of even grave occurrences in the early history of Lowell.

We are led to those prefatory remarks in consequence of a somewhat persistent inquiry for facts concerning a disturbance in Lowell, in 1834, growing out of the second visit of George Thompson, then well known as a distinguished English philanthropist. There is not, probably, in our city a single newspaper paragraph from which one can learn the slightest fact concerning that event; but we have good reasons for believing it was the first riotous demonstration in New England growing out of the discussion of African slavery in the Southern States, and therefore is of historical importance. On the 4th of July previous, in Boston, a women's anti-slavery prayer-meeting had been disturbed and dispersed, but no violence was offered those engaged in it, and it was not regarded as a very serious affair.

The small party of Abolitionists about this time began in earnest their aggressive and proselyting work. After the outbreak here, and in consequence of their public meetings, in which slavery and slave-holding

were denounced with a fervor and force that showed their sincerity and earnestness, others soon followed. In Haverhill and Worcester, this State, there were similar riots, from the same cause, not long afterward. In Concord, N. H., also about the same time, occurred an "Abolition riot," although the Abolitionists themselves made no disturbance; and in Boston, the following year, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison was seized by an enraged mob of men who put a halter around his body and dragged him through the streets with the avowed purpose of hanging him to a lamp-post, but he was rescued by the Mayor of the city, who eventually succeeded, after many hair-breadth escapes, in getting him into the common jail, for safe-keeping. In the West, at Alton, Ill., about a year later, Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a candid, Christian gentleman, was murdered by a mob, for advocating anti-slavery sentiments. But all these and others occurred after the affair we are about to relate; and while Lowell has the undisputed honor of being the first to despatch troops for Washington, on the breaking out of the rebellion (a legitimate offspring of slavery), and of originating the first sanitary fair in behalf of the Union soldiers, she, also, we fear, should bear the disgrace of being the scene of the first attempt in New England to suppress free discussion, when the anti-slavery party had obtained a foothold. But there is no local record of the exciting events growing out of the anti-slavery meetings here. The Abolitionists had no newspaper organ; in fact there was but one or two anti-slavery papers at that time in the country. Mr. Garrison's was not established in Boston until 1830, and for years it had but a limited circulation. An independent paper, called "The Times," was commenced in this city in 1833, by H. Hastings Weld, but

it is very doubtful if it espoused in the least degree the anti-slavery cause. There is no file of it in existence, so far as is known. The Democrat and Whig prints confined their reports and comments to a condemnation of the proceedings of "a handful of fanatics."

In order to a proper understanding of the political situation at that time, it should be borne in mind that both the Democratic and Whig parties of the North were pro-slavery in their sentiments; both toadied to the South, and the general government was virtually in the hands of the Southern politicians, to whom the Northerners yielded with such constant pliancy as to earn the derisive appellation of "dough-faces" from the Abolitionists. At the North there seems to have been a feeling of distrust in the two parties, each aspiring to outdo the other in its loyalty and respect for the rights of their Southern brethren in everything relating to the institution of slavery. In proof of this it may be cited that the late Edward Everett, a Whig representative in Congress (1826) took occasion to define his position, and expressed his hostility to the propositions of the Abolitionists by declaring his readiness to shoulder a musket to put down a slave insurrection, and his conviction with regard to slavery, that "while it subsists, where it subsists, its duties are presupposed and sanctioned by religion," etc. This was going a little too far; as Artemus Ward says, he "slopped over," even in the opinion of Southerners themselves. A member of the same body, Mr. Cambreleng, a native of North Carolina, denounced the sentiment, and John Randolph, of Virginia, also of the same body, said he "envied neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery upon principle." It is sufficient here to repeat that at the North both parties were anxious to show their fidelity

to "the Union and Constitution" and to keep themselves "clean and unspotted from the" diabolical Abolitionists.

Mr. Thompson by his masterly force, eloquence and wit, had won a conspicuous position among the distinguished men of England. He had been a leader in the struggle for emancipation in the West Indies; and on the passage of the Act of Emancipation, was specially complimented, in the House of Lords, by Lord Brougham, who said—"I rise to take the crown of this most glorious victory from every other head and place it upon George Thompson." Mr. Garrison first met him in London, and after hearing him speak, on a public occasion, was constrained to invite him to visit America, feeling sure that he—an admirer of republican institutions, a Christian gentleman and philanthropist—would, by his wonderful ability and eloquence, by moral force hasten the emancipation of the blacks in this country. The result, however, was quite the reverse of what he anticipated, as the sequel shows. Mr. Thompson's fervid eloquence and unanswerable arguments instead of convincing and converting, seemed rather to intensify the sentiments and cement together the opposition; and from the first he was regarded as an interloper and meddler, and the coming of an Englishman to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country, was an offence which prompted immediate and indignant resistance.

October 4, 1834, Mr. Thompson, who had been in this country but a few weeks, spoke in Lowell for the first time. Rev. William Twining, the pastor of what was later known as the Appleton Street Church; Rev. Giles Pease, the pastor of a society worshipping in the Town Hall, and Rev. Asa Rand, then not in the ministry but proprietor of a bookstore on Merrimack Street, took

seats on that occasion upon the platform. The lecture was delivered in the Town Hall, by consent of the Selectmen, and about one thousand persons were present. Mr. Thompson was listened to throughout with the most profound attention and every appearance of interest. At the close of his lecture Rev. Mr. Pease read a hymn appropriate to the occasion, and singing ended the meeting. There was no disturbance of any kind, at this meeting, and Mr. Thompson the next day went to new fields of labor.

But during the months of November and December, of the same year, there was much excitement in Lowell, growing out of Mr. Thompson's second visit. It may not be amiss to say that Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, John Davis Governor of Massachusetts, and the Selectmen of the town of Lowell were Benjamin Walker, William Livingston, James Russell, John Chase, and William N. Owen. The population of the town was at that time about 16,000, and increasing rapidly. The Boott, Massachusetts and Prescott Corporations did not then exist. "The Merrimack Steam Navigation Company" had an existence, and Joseph Bradley was its president; and the steamer "Herald," owned by said company and commanded by Capt. Lewis, made daily trips on the Merrimack River, between Lowell and Nashua. The Boston and Lowell Railroad had not at that time been constructed.

Mr. Thompson came to Lowell on Saturday evening, November 30th, by invitation of a board of managers in the anti-slavery interest, and was to lecture on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday evenings following. The Town Hall (in our present City Hall building) had been engaged of the Selectmen.

On Sunday evening Mr. Thompson delivered his

first lecture of this series. His audience was quite large, made up of both sexes. His subject was "Slavery and the Bible," in which he undertook to show that slavery was not justified by the teachings of the Bible. The large audience listened with delight to the speaker, till a somewhat late hour. There may have been some signs of dissent to certain utterances of the speaker; but there was no noisy demonstration inside or outside of the hall; with one exception, nothing disorderly occurred. At one point of the speaker's remarks, quite a heavy stone, hurled with considerable force, came against one of the windows, but striking the sash, fell back on to the sidewalk. This startled a good many, but made no impression on the lecturer. He proceeded with his subject, as if nothing had happened. The meeting closed with singing and the announcement of another meeting, Monday evening.

It was agreed that there should be a meeting for discussion at 6½ o'clock, Monday evening, before the public meeting at 8; and Mr. Thompson extended a friendly and conciliatory invitation to all who had objections to the principles or measures of the Abolitionists to be present and state them, and to all who had inquiries to avail themselves of the opportunity and propound them. The board of managers also sent special invitations of the same purport to gentlemen who had previously been active in opposition to the formation of an anti-slavery society. But all declined, and there were no objectors or inquirers at the early meeting. It was composed entirely of dyed-in-the-wool Abolitionists, who in discussions with one another fortified themselves for future battles with their pro-slavery opponents.

When the hour for the lecture arrived, Mr. Thompson found an audience quite as large as that of the

evening previous. He spoke two hours, his theme being "the History of San Domingo." Although the lecturer was discussing the negro, it was not *our* negro, and therefore what he said was not so objectionable as it would otherwise have been. Slavery in San Domingo was a long way off, and was of little interest to people in Lowell. But the speaker made his theme sufficiently local to excite the ire of some of his audience; and occasional hisses were heard. A small gang of reckless fellows stood outside the hall door, at the head of the stairs, and by stamping, loud talk and hisses made a disturbance for half an hour or more, but officers being sent for, they ceased their annoyance. Later in the evening, however, three missiles were hurled at the building, behind the speaker. One of them—a large brickbat—came through the window with a startling crash, passed near Mr. Thompson's head and fell upon the floor, near where sat Mr. Samuel B. Simonds, a member of this Association. It must have been thrown with great force, to pass into the second story of the building and nearly to the centre of the hall. A very slight change in its course would have brought it in contact with Mr. Thompson's head; but his speech was not to be stopped by arguments of that kind. The brickbat was picked up and laid upon the speaker's desk, and he, not at all daunted or disconcerted, went on as if nothing had happened. The meeting closed without disturbance, the third and last meeting of the series being announced for the next evening.

Tuesday the people of Lowell were feverish and excited. Mr. Thompson's remarkable speeches had exasperated a great many of both the old parties. Lowell, it was supposed, was largely dependent on the South for its cotton, and the sale of large quantities of cotton goods

was made in the Southern States. The leading men of the city, it seems, could not endure the idea that the South should discover that Lowell was tinctured with abolitionism, or had tolerated the presence of George Thompson, an Englishman. On the morning previous to the third lecture, the following placard was found posted up around town :

“ Citizens of Lowell, arise! Look well to your interests! Will you suffer a question to be discussed in Lowell which will endanger the safety of the Union?—a question which we have not, by our constitution, any right to meddle with. Fellow-citizens, shall Lowell be the first place to suffer an Englishman to disturb the peace and harmony of our country? Do you wish instruction from an Englishman? If you are freeborn sons of America, meet, one and all, at the Town Hall, THIS EVENING, at half-past seven o'clock, and convince your Southern brethren that we will not interfere with their rights.”

During the day Mr. Thompson received an anonymous letter, which was altogether more expressive than elegant. It was as follows :

“ Rev. Dr. Thompson—Dear Sir : I as a friend beg leave to inform you that there is a plot in agitation to immerce you in a vat of Indelable Ink and I recommend to you to take your departure from this part of the contry as soon as possable or it wil be shurely carried into opperration and that to before you see the light of another son. Very respectfully yours a citizen of theas United States of America.”

It is a literal fact, we take occasion to remark here, that Mr. Thompson did see “ the light of another son ” ;

for a few days later, December 6th, a son was born to him, his wife at the time being in Roxbury, Mass. This son, named Herbert Thompson, died in London in February or March, 1867. He was a zealous friend of the North, during the rebellion, and made several speeches in favor of the Union and emancipation. He inherited much of his father's brilliancy as an orator.

The posters, the threatening letter, and other things conspired to arouse hundreds of people. The talk was excited and angry. The sagacious among the Abolitionists seriously apprehended a greater disturbance than had yet taken place; but they did not propose to give up their meeting; none of their rights were to be abridged, be the consequences what they might. They did not propose to get up a row; they did not propose to violate any law, or trespass on the rights of any one; but they did propose to testify to their abhorrence of slavery, come what might.

Early in the afternoon the board of managers met and by agreement resolved to claim the protection of the Selectmen, and to proceed with the meeting. The Selectmen—the air being full of threatening rumors—had been on the alert, endeavoring as far as possible to avert a collision between the two parties.

The hour of meeting arrived. The managers and Mr. Thompson met the Selectmen in the ante-room, which adjoined the hall. There were unmistakable signs of trouble. In the hall had gathered quite a large audience, and it was plainly to be seen that it was composed of a different element from that heretofore observable in the meetings. Near the door was a threatening, noisy squad of men, though the largest portion of the audience was composed of orderly people, and a respectable number of ladies was also present. Outside,

on the sidewalk on Merrimack Street, a crowd began to gather about the hour assigned for the opening of the meeting. The Selectmen were not a little anxious as to the result, but they were still determined to render Mr. Thompson's friends all possible aid, and do their utmost to prevent a breach of the peace.

The hall, it will be remembered, stood alone, as now, but the buildings nearest it were only cottages, or "ten-footers," and it was approachable from all sides. There were no shutters or blinds attached to the windows, with the exception of the one opening upon Shattuck Street, directly back of the speaker's stand, where a temporary barrier had been erected, which would afford partial protection against missiles hurled from that direction. The janitor of the hall was Mr. Daniel G. Greenleaf, a member of this Association, who remembers distinctly the turmoil and disorder and the danger of personal injury which at one time threatened those present.

The night was exceedingly dark, drizzly and disagreeable. But the stirring appeal which we have quoted had the effect to bring to the vicinity of the hall probably one-quarter of the male population of the place. Some were bent on breaking up the "abolition meeting"; some were there "to see the fun"; others to witness the disturbance, if one occurred. The lights in the street at that time were few and far between, and one could throw a missile at the building and not be recognized by those standing within a few feet of him. People were on all sides of the hall, but the largest number gathered on Merrimack Street, at the junction of Shattuck. About the hour announced for commencing the lecture, the crowd outside was particularly noisy and demonstrative. Brickbats and stones were thrown against the end window, some entering but doing no harm, while the barrier

across the window back of the rostrum received a shower of small stones and was cracked and scarred in a manner indicating the earnestness of the arms which sent them flying. Hootings, howlings, hisses!—derisive cries, cat-calls and every infernal noise that an earnest, mischievous, reckless mob is capable of making—came up from that black, animated mass. The condition of things was enough to chill the blood of the well-disposed people within the hall. Every moment added to the confusion and the danger. It hardly seemed possible that anything would appease those disturbers of the peace. Mr. Thompson and his friends were saluted with all manner of disrespectful names, and personal violence was prepared for “the damned Englishman who had come over here to interfere in our matters.” The coolest of the number were convinced of the imprudence of his attempting to go on, with hundreds in the hall opposed to him and the streets filled with reckless, determined men—there for the avowed purpose of breaking up the meeting, at all hazards.

What was to be done? What could be done, in view of the danger? The Selectmen were powerless to save the assembly from the violence of the mob. As yet no one had been harmed; but nobody knew what mad freak would next seize the ungovernable throng or what would be the consequences if violence was once begun. Finally the board of managers, after several conferences with the Selectmen, decided that as an act of discretion (without sacrificing principles) they would adjourn the meeting to 2 o'clock the next afternoon, at the same place. An adjournment was therefore effected; and the audience began to leave, those opposed to the meeting making no demonstration which threatened personal injury.

We have been told that so bitter was the feeling against Mr. Thompson that it was not considered safe for him to make himself known on the street. A few ladies pressed closely about him; and through the dimly-lighted passage-way he passed into the street, and soon after was safe at the house of Rev. Mr. Twining. Mr. Thompson was no coward; but it would have been worse than folly had he exposed himself to the mad men who besieged the hall, and again "discretion was the better part of valor." However, he was not content at what he had seen and heard from his stand-point in the meeting. Half an hour later, disguised in a camlet cloak (such as was somewhat in fashion in those days), with a white hat well drawn down over his face, he went back to the vicinity of the hall to see what was going on, and get an idea of the temper of the community.

In order to confirm some parts of the preceding narrative, we wrote to Rev. Mr. Twining, now residing at St. Louis, Mo., for his version of Mr. Thompson's reception. In response to our letter we received from him the following very satisfactory communication. We infer, however, that the aged writer has somewhat confounded the proceedings at two meetings, making them appear as transpiring at one. On the evening of the greatest excitement and most danger, Mr. Thompson did not lecture in the hall; the meeting was adjourned till the next afternoon, as our version of the affair shows. Mr. Twining's letter is as follows:

"It being reported that a number of persons had banded together to occupy the front seats in the hall to disturb the meeting and molest Mr. Thompson, a considerable number of women agreed together to go to the meeting early, and to occupy those seats in advance of the rioters, and in case of any attempt at personal

violence to form an unbroken circle around him for his defence. At the hour appointed the women were in these seats, and the disturbers of the meeting were compelled to sit in the back part of the hall, and to stand in the aisles and along the stairway. The house was densely packed with friends and foes, the former having taken good care to occupy the front. At the proper time Mr. Thompson took his stand upon the platform, and began the delivery of a lecture on 'the History and Results of West India Emancipation.' His gentlemanly bearing and his evident command of the whole subject made a favorable impression upon his audience.

"At one point of his lecture an attempt was made to disturb him by groans, if I recollect rightly. Mr. Thompson made some pertinent remark respecting it which I do not now recall. This being followed with hisses he replied: 'Ladies and gentlemen, I am now more confused than before whether to interpret it as the sign of the malignity of the serpent or the simplicity of the goose.'

"At another point of the lecture a brickbat was thrown through the window at the back of the platform from the street, which, passing near the head of Mr. Thompson, fell upon the floor in front of him. At first some confusion was produced by this incident, but a simple waving of the hand by Mr. Thompson quieting the assembly, they resumed their seats and the lecturer proceeded. At the close of the meeting, the rioters having taken possession of the aisle and the stairway, my wife and another lady (whose name is not recollected) came promptly forward and taking him by the arm, one on the right and the other on the left, conducted him through the crowd down the aisle and the stairway, engaging him meanwhile in conversation, apparently unconscious of the tempestuous condition of the

element around them. Awed by the presence of Mr. Thompson and the fortitude of the women, the crowd opened at the right and the left and we passed out, down the stairway, into the street which was thronged with excited people, and thence through Merrimack and Central Streets to my residence, on Appleton Street. After a few moments' conversation on the events of the evening, Mr. Thompson, rising from his chair, said—'I must go out among my friends in the streets, to hear what they say of me.' I placed upon his head a large white hat and threw over his shoulders a Scotch plaid cloak. Thus habited he went in disguise into the streets, and passed around among the excited throng unrecognized and unobserved. On his return he gave us an entertaining account of what he had seen and heard, and his personal conversations with many of those with whom he mingled. The particulars of these conversations I do not recollect and cannot relate. It being now late at night he arose to leave for his lodgings. We urged him to remain with us over night. At first, he declined the invitation, saying that he would not for any consideration expose us to danger on his account. We, however, strongly insisting upon his staying with us, he finally consented to do so; and the night passed away quietly.

“There were in the city two young lawyers of note in their profession, and educated gentlemen, one of whom had been active in stirring up the people. The other, though not active in the same manner, was known to be violently opposed to the anti-slavery movement. These two gentlemen I invited to dine with Mr. Thompson at my house the next day. They accepted the invitation and came. My wife, always equal to an emergency, had ‘killed the fatted calf,’ and prepared to receive her guests with elegant though not sumptuous

hospitality and to make everything pleasant for them. At the appointed hour they arrived and were introduced to Mr. Thompson, with whom they entered into free and easy conversation. During the whole of this interview not an unpleasant word was spoken, and the whole conversation was worthy of gentlemen of the highest rank, and in due time the lawyers took their leave of us with the most agreeable impressions respecting Mr. Thompson.

“Meanwhile among the people the storm was gathering, and it was evident that scenes of violence were likely to be enacted in the evening. The Selectmen, therefore, having no police at their command, sent a polite communication to those who had engaged the hall for the evening, stating that they had no means of protecting the building, and requesting them, as damage was likely to be done to it, to change the hour of the lecture from the evening to the afternoon. This proposition was accepted, and the lecture that was to have been delivered in the evening came off about three o’clock in the afternoon. I have a faint recollection that in the evening the enemies of the movement took possession of the Town Hall, but I have no remembrance of their proceedings or that any importance was attached to them.

“There were many other incidents connected with the visit of Mr. Thompson at Lowell which I cannot relate. Time has pushed them into the dim distance, and my recollection of them is so imperfect that I cannot be confident of the verity of any statement that I might make respecting them.”

Precisely when Mr. Thompson made his tour of inspection in the disguise described, we are unable to determine; for it is evident that on quitting the hall he

and his friends gathered in Mr. Twining's church, and that there the lecture was delivered, undoubtedly with such emendations and embellishments as the occurrences of the day and evening suggested; indeed, this is the recollection of some of our old residents, and a local newspaper of a few days' later date, confirms the fact. In noticing Mr. Thompson's lecture the paper referred to says: "It is to be regretted that some violence was offered to him at one of his lectures; and at the next the feeling was so strong against them [the Abolitionists] that, apprehending violence too powerful to be put down, they adjourned from the Town Hall to one of the churches, where Thompson played his antics," &c. Rev. Eliphalet Case, then conducting a paper in the town, is represented as saying in an editorial respecting the meeting, referring to the brick that was thrown through the window—"It was a weighty, but not a convincing argument."

Immediately after the withdrawal of Mr. Thompson and his friends, the hall was filled from the throng that had collected outside. "A meeting," says a partial chronicler of the event, "of the friends of order was called upon the spot, and resolutions were unanimously passed, condemning the interfering of the North on the subject of Slavery and the formation of societies on the principles of the Abolitionists; and recommending the town authorities to withhold the use of the Town Hall for anti-slavery lectures." Respecting this meeting we have nothing to add to the above. There is no record of it anywhere. It is more than forty years since the noisy demonstration we have depicted took place, within a few rods of this spot. Men's memories are reliable in but few things after the lapse of so many years. No one has been able to name even a single individual who

took part in that noisy demonstration against Mr. Thompson and his friends. Perhaps it is best so; nothing there transpired to which those of to-day can look back upon with the slightest feeling of satisfaction; and it may be well in this case to "let the dead bury its dead." Many men who were not Abolitionists condemned the acts which broke up the meeting, saying—"This is no question of Abolition, but whether law and order shall prevail in Lowell, or whether mobs shall rule." Despite the vigorous efforts made at the time and the summer following to show that there was no anti-slavery sentiment in Lowell, it is apparent that one was steadily increasing. About the time of the transpiring of the events we have described, a "Female Anti-Slavery Society" was formed, and obtained a membership of four hundred.

The brick which was hurled at Mr. Thompson was carried by him to Boston, and for a long time exhibited in the rooms of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Upon it was placed this inscription:—

"While G. Thompson, from England, was pleading the cause of 2,300,000 human and immortal American-born beings, held in brutal, unmitigated and soul-destroying bondage in this land of Republicanism and Christianity, this deadly missile was hurled with tremendous force at his head by one of the citizens of Low-hell. In the year of our Saviour Christ, 1834; of American Independence, 58."

Mr. Thompson, being a Londoner, will probably be forgiven for the use of the letter *h* in the name of our city, if he was the author of the legend placed upon the brick, which, however, is scarcely probable.

It will be well to add that Mr. Thompson and his friends held their meeting the Wednesday afternoon following the disturbance of Tuesday evening, according to adjournment. It can easily be imagined that he had warm coats for the backs of those who interrupted his speaking the evening before; but it is doubtful if even one of the offenders was present to test their fitting qualities. It was broad daylight—an unfavorable time for rioters and men of bad passions to be abroad—and he was not in the least disturbed.

By the fall months of the year following, Mr. Thompson's speeches had awakened an intense feeling of opposition throughout New England. In Boston especially was there great excitement. On one occasion a meeting had been arranged which he was to address; but shortly before the time for him to appear, his friends discovered that it would be perilous for him to speak in public, or indeed even to remain in the city. With the utmost caution he was smuggled away from the city, and somewhere on the New England coast got on board an English vessel, and leaving "the land of the free and the home of the brave," he returned to England. The "respectable mob," as Mr. Garrison afterward sarcastically termed it, which had failed in finding Mr. Thompson, vented its rage on its next most important object of aversion, Mr. Garrison himself, as already related.

More than thirty years elapsed before Mr. Thompson again visited this country. Then the war which had been commenced to perpetuate slavery was nearly ended—those who had resorted to the arbitrament of the sword had, virtually, perished by the sword, and their "peculiar institution" had gone down to rise no more. A month after Mr. Thompson's third and last visit to

Lowell, the capital of the Confederate States was occupied by the Union forces and the leader of the rebellion was a hunted fugitive.

On the 15th of March, 1865, George Thompson again walked the streets of Lowell, having come to our city with his friend William Lloyd Garrison to speak in behalf of the Lowell Freedmen's Aid Society, an auxiliary of a society in New England of a similar name. On the evening of the day designated a meeting was held at Huntington Hall—within a stone's throw of the spot where Mr. Thompson once so narrowly escaped being mobbed—Judge Nathan Crosby, the president of the Society, presiding. The object was to raise money to be expended for the benefit of the destitute freedmen in those parts of the South held by the Union army, which were increasing every day as the rebel army weakened and gave up the field. Mr. C. C. Coffin (the "Carleton" of the Boston Journal), who was present when the Union forces entered Charleston, S. C., and who eventually sent North an auction-block from the slave mart in that city, was one of the speakers. The block referred to was exhibited on the rostrum. The word "Mart," in large, gilded letters was on the block; in Chalmers Street it had been a conspicuous sign, designating one of the principal slave-dealing establishments in the city. Mr. Coffin's address related principally to the events connected with the capture of Charleston.

He was followed by Mr. E. W. Kinsley, a Boston merchant, specially interested in the New England Freedmen's Society, who spoke of the importance of educating the freedmen as a matter of policy and as a Christian duty.

Mr. Garrison, on coming forward, stepped upon the auction-block and from it congratulated his audience on

“the destruction of the accursed institution of slavery.” He contrasted the sentiment of 1865 with public sentiment on the slavery question at the time he began the publication of *The Liberator*. His remarks were quite lengthy; at many points they were earnest and eloquent, and several times he was interrupted by demonstrations of applause.

Mr. Thompson was the last speaker. The hour was late; and many in the audience did not care to remain. He contrasted his first reception in this country with the demonstrations which he had witnessed since last coming among our people. He also congratulated his audience on the downfall of slavery and the indications of the restoration of peace and the prospects of a noble future for our country. He did not speak with the fire and force of former years, when even those who did not agree with him in sentiment, listened with admiration to his marvellous and unanswerable addresses.

How different the treatment extended to him! In 1834 he was by a vast majority of the people regarded as an intruder and meddler in matters he had no right even to debate, and for his protection in our streets at night, disguise seemed absolutely necessary. In 1865 he was greeted with the utmost cordiality and consideration, and was recognized as a patriotic, Christian gentleman. True indeed it is that “Time works wonders!”

NOTE.—Mr. Thompson was the guest, while in Lowell, March 15, 1865, of Hon. Chauncy L. Knapp. He died in Leeds, England, October 7, 1878, at the age of 75 years. Mr. Garrison, the George Thompson of America, died May 24, 1879.

X. Insurance in Lowell: Reminiscences connected therewith, by J. K. Fellows. Read August 1, 1877.

INSURANCE or Assurance? Both terms are commonly used, but the former is more frequently applied in this country to contracts to indemnify against a certain amount of loss, as the burning of a certain building, the loss of a certain ship, or the death of a certain person. The sum paid by the insured is called the premium; the deed by which the company becomes bound is called a policy; and the contingency insured against is termed a risk. The principle of insurance is founded upon the doctrine of probabilities. Experts in life insurance cannot predict with any certainty that any individual will die in one year; yet, if we take a number of persons—say ten thousand—and find that during a period of ten years so many have died annually, of various ages, it can be predicted with tolerable certainty that a like number will die annually in similar circumstances. It is in this way that insurance on buildings, ships and merchandise is calculated, the moral risk being taken into consideration also. Thus, if out of 100 risks the company expects to have two losses, the calculation is that the 100 premiums may cover the two losses, office expenses, and add a per cent. to the surplus fund, which is divided among the stockholders unless squandered by the managers, as seems to have been the case in many instances, especially among life insurance companies.

Mutual insurance companies have no proprietors, the insured being likewise the insurers, dividing the profits among themselves, after deducting the expenses of management and reserving a guarantee fund. Mutual insurance was first introduced in England about the middle of the sixteenth century. The earliest ordinance respecting insurance was published, it is said, in Florence in 1503, but the principle of mutual insurance was in practice much earlier. The first settlers of New England adopted the mutual plan, which is still continued among many small settlements, especially in the Western States. Thus, if a house or a barn is burned, or a man of small means loses a horse or a cow, his neighbors assess themselves and make good the loss—a trait to be commended, surely.

GENERAL LOCAL SUMMARY.

The early business men of Lowell, to protect themselves, organized the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1832, and its business has been continued to the present time. It being one of the oldest institutions of our city, some of the earliest records may be of interest to the Old Residents.

The Lowell Bank was the first business institution of Lowell, organized in 1829. The Railroad Bank, organized in 1831, commenced business in the building which is now called the Appleton Bank Block, but then called the Railroad Bank Building; and the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1832 opened an office in the same building. The building, however, was not as it now is, being then the south end of the present block, and perhaps a third of the present front, three stories high, and was owned by the Middlesex Manufacturing Company. The office was removed to the Mansur Building,

corner of Central and Market Streets, where it has remained for over forty years. Our population at that time was about ten thousand. The Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of Concord, Mass., was organized in 1826, and the Merrimack, at Andover, began business in 1828; and for many years these three companies did nearly all the insuring in this region. The old residents will remember seeing the notice over doors—"Insured at Andover."

The Traders and Mechanics Mutual Insurance Company, which has a large amount at risk in this city, was organized in June, 1848. The first board of directors was as follows: Thomas Hopkinson, Thomas Nesmith, A. C. Wheelock, Joshua Converse, Edward F. Watson, J. H. Rand, Peter Powers, Henry Reed, S. G. Mack, B. H. Weaver, Nathaniel Critchett; Thomas Hopkinson, president; James Dinsmoore, secretary. Stock department organized in 1854. Capital \$100,000. The company's loss at the great fire in Boston, 1872, was \$230,000, which was paid in full, and the company is now in good condition.

The Howard Insurance Company was organized September, 1848. Directors — Oliver M. Whipple, William Fiske, Joel Adams, Emory Washburn, Joshua Merrill, David Dana, Stephen Cushing, Elijah M. Read, Samuel Burbank, Sidney Spalding, A. W. Buttrick, Thomas Hopkinson, Daniel S. Richardson; Oliver M. Whipple, President; Frederick Parker, Secretary.—Capital \$50,000. The following interesting details concerning this Company have been furnished by an intelligent gentleman long connected with it:

"The prime mover in the forming of the Howard Company, was the late Frederick Parker, Esq., whose

law-office was No. 76 Central Street, easterly side, near Hurd Street, the site of the Appleton Bank Block. The Company was formed and held its first meeting sometime in the winter of 1848. Its capital at time of organization was \$50,000. It was not long after increased to \$100,000. About 1851, an attempt was made for further increase of capital and \$6,100 was taken on the second hundred thousand, when some heavy fire losses put a stop to subscriptions and the capital was \$106,100 till about 1862, when it was carried up to \$200,000, and never more.

“The late Oliver M. Whipple was the first president of the Company, and held that office till about 1851 or '52, when he resigned, and Dr. Nathan Allen became its president, until 1862. Upon his resignation Joshua W. Daniels (the former secretary of the Company) was elected president and treasurer, which office he retained till October, 1865, at which time he resigned, and Ephraim Brown was elected president and treasurer, and conducted the business of the Company till the time of the great Boston fire, of November 7, 1872.

“Its first secretary and treasurer was Frederick Parker. He held the office till 1852, or about four years. Upon his resignation Joshua W. Daniels was elected to that position and became the president and treasurer in 1862, which office he resigned in 1865. In 1862, upon the promotion of the secretary, Mr. Daniels, to the presidency of the Company, Ephraim Brown was elected secretary. He resigned in 1864, and Henry B. White was chosen to that office, and resigned in 1867, and Sewall A. Faunce was elected secretary, and performed the duties of that office to the time of the great fire, in 1872.

“About 1862 the Company opened a branch office

in Boston, and in 1864 that became the principal office of the Company, when its Lowell office was closed and the Lowell business of the Company was conducted by an agency.

“In the few first years of the Company its losses by fire were severe, and its credit became impaired. Under Mr. Daniels’ management it prospered, and at the time his successor, Mr. Brown, came to the management, the capital was \$200,000, with some \$12,000 surplus and about \$4,000,000 at risk. Nine months after, in July, 1866, occurred the great Portland fire, in which the Company lost \$19,000. The business of the Company gradually increased, but it paid no dividend in 1866, there having been divided, in 1865, 20 per cent.; leaving \$12,000 surplus. In 1867 the dividends were 9 per cent., and from that date to 1872 the dividends were 10 per cent. per annum, until the great fire in Boston, November 7, 1872, since which time all dividends of earnings have ceased.

“At the time of that disaster the Company was in a highly prosperous condition. Its amount at risk was \$10,000,000, its capital \$200,000, and its surplus \$150,000; and it was found in winding up its affairs that its surplus was fully \$175,000, equal to seven-eighths of its capital, and making a total ability of \$375,000, which was all lost in that great disaster. The winding-up value was \$187 per share; par, \$100. In that fire its losses were \$840,000, distributed over eighty acres of the best insurance property of Boston, averaging \$11,000 only per acre. Showing a very small relative amount at risk, or only about one-twelfth of the Company’s total amount at risk, on the *whole* burned district. Having in that fire lost all its assets, the Company has ceased all insurance business, and its office is closed.”

Insurance now is a large business. The agents of the various companies represented in Lowell are sending away in premiums annually from \$150,000 to \$200,000, while the money returned to Lowell to pay losses has not been large, especially since water, fire-alarm and the efficiently manned steam fire-engines have been introduced, with an able Chief. For the last five years the average loss has been a little over \$50,000 per annum. The losses of the early companies were quite heavy, years ago, the outside business being done by agents having other business, who gave but little attention to the business or class of risks taken, looking more for their commission than the companies' interest; consequently assessments were often made which were at times large, the receipts being barely sufficient to pay the office expenses. There were no premiums paid for several years after commencing business. One dollar was charged for the policy, a deposit note being relied on for assessment. The losses of the Lowell Mutual Company have never been large in this city; but at Cambridge, Charlestown, and other large towns, twenty-five or thirty years ago, the losses were quite heavy, and of course assessments followed. Agents were dispensed with, and the business done wholly at the home office, under the supervision of the directors. In place of assessments, the policy-holders have received in return premiums about \$20,000, and the Company has a large guarantee fund in reserve for the amount at risk, which belongs to the policy-holders.

Our incorporated manufacturing companies are, also, collectively a mutual fire insurance company, insuring themselves—assessments being made as losses occur, in proportion to the amount at risk; and the cost to them of insurance against fire for the last twenty-five years

has been less than one-tenth of one per cent. per annum.

OFFICERS.

Following is a list of well-known former and present citizens who have been officially connected with this institution :

The first directors were chosen April 6, 1832, as follows: Kirk Boott, Luther Lawrence, Elisha Glidden, Aaron Mansur, Nathaniel Wright, John C. Dalton, Seth Ames, Benjamin Walker, Matthias Parkhurst. None survive but Messrs. Ames and Parkhurst. Luther Lawrence chosen president, Samuel F. Haven, secretary. At the annual meeting in 1833, John Nesmith and Francis Hillard succeeded Messrs. Wright and Dalton as directors. For 1834 the new members elected on the board were Jonathan Tyler, Alpheus Smith, Jonathan Morse, 2nd, and Hamblin Davis; Elisha Glidden was president. In April, 1835, Tappan Wentworth was chosen secretary, in place of Mr. Haven, declined. The latter was an attorney-at-law—a gentleman of fine attainments and literary tastes. He went from Lowell to Worcester, and has been secretary of a historical society there for forty years or more. In 1836 David Dana and Horace Howard took the place of Messrs. Parkhurst and Glidden; John Nesmith became president. In 1837 the new directors were Stephen Goodhue, Jonathan Marston and Elisha Bartlett; in June Mr. Wentworth resigned as secretary, and after three meetings and twenty-two ballotings, J. W. Mansur was elected to the vacancy; in November Mr. Nesmith resigned the presidency, and Jonathan Tyler was chosen in his place. In 1838 Royal Southwick was added to the list, and in 1839 John W. Graves. In 1840 the new names were Abner W. Buttrick and Hapgood Wright. In 1841 they were George H. Carleton, J. B. French, H. J. Baxter and Jonathan Bowers; in May J. W. Mansur resigned the secretaryship, and R. G. Colby was elected; in June Mr. Tyler resigned as president, and Horace Howard was elected. April, 1842, James Bowers, Thomas Nesmith, William Livingston and Ransom Reed first appeared as directors. In 1843 J. Russell was the only new director; in 1844 J. H. B. Ayer and P. W. Warren became such; in 1845 no change, until October 6th, when R. G. Colby, the secretary, was

taken sick and soon after died, Isaac S. Morse being appointed to the place *pro tem*. At the annual meeting in 1846 Mr. Morse was permanently chosen. In 1847 Cyril French became a director. In 1848 no change; in 1849 only one—the choice of E. B. Patch as a director; in 1850 no change; in 1851 Stephen Mansur and A. R. Brown became directors; Mr. Howard declined re-election as president, and J. B. French was elected. In 1852 Mr. Morse declined again to be secretary, and Jacob Robbins succeeded him; the number of directors was increased from nine to eleven, and I. S. Morse joined the board. In 1853 the annual meeting was changed from April to January; in May Mr. French resigned the presidency, and J. H. B. Ayer was elected. In 1854 A. B. French became a director, but in 1855 he withdrew and was succeeded by William Fiske. In 1856 W. H. Wiggin succeeded E. B. Patch, who declined. In 1857 directors increased to fifteen, and Abram French, J. K. Fellows, Charles Hovey and Josiah T. Howe were unanimously selected. In 1858 two new members were chosen—Jonathan Page and William P. Brazer; in 1859 no change; in 1860 Mr. Ayer declined the presidency, and J. K. Fellows was elected, since when he has served in that capacity; Jacob Robbins resigned as secretary, and in February George W. Bean was chosen. In 1861 no change; in 1862 H. W. Hilton took the place of Stephen Mansur, who had died; the secretary, Mr. Bean, died in February, 1862, and W. P. Brazer assumed the position temporarily; March 10th, James Cook was elected permanently, and so continued till the present year, when he resigned and Charles W. Drew was elected. The present directors are the following: Jonathan Tyler, J. K. Fellows, Abram French, William H. Wiggin, A. B. Buttrick, William P. Brazer, George Stevens, Charles A. Stott, Benjamin Walker, Jacob Robbins, J. C. Abbott, A. B. French, William O. Fiske, William E. Livingston, N. M. Wright, E. A. Hill.

MINOR REMINISCENCES.

The following reminiscences of local concern are derived from the records of the Lowell Mutual Company: July 1, 1832, the first policies were issued. April, 1839, an application was made to the directors for leave to store cotton batting under the Methodist Meeting-house on Chapel Hill, and rejected. In 1840 it was decided

not to insure any stock of goods outside the city of Lowell, unless by vote of the directors. August, 1840, notice of burning of building owned by Samuel Wyman, of Baltimore, Md., situated on Washington Street, Belvidere. In 1841 it was voted to insure William Fiske's saw-mill on Warren Street (where the Middlesex Mills now are), at 20 per cent. per annum. It was also voted by the directors to insure the circus horses owned by Benjamin Thurston. In 1842 the agent at Nashua was authorized to insure personal property at not less than 4 per cent. per annum. February, 1842, voted to award \$30 (to be disposed of at the discretion of the president), for extra exertion at the fire at Mr. Reed's house at Chelmsford, and that Mr. Cole have liberty to exhibit "the Battle of Bunker Hill" in Mechanics' Hall, without injury to insurance. May 21, 1842, William Schouler's printing establishment, located at Billerica, burned; insured in this office; loss to company \$925. In 1843, voted that no spirit or camphene oil should be used in any building insured in this office. April, 1844, voted by the directors that the sum of \$50 as a reward be given such persons as distinguished themselves by extraordinary exertions at the fire in Old Cambridge, whereby the property of Willard & Bliss was endangered, but rescued. April, 1847, notice of loss on N. Critchett's stock of boots and shoes; referred to committee and settled for \$425. September, 1847, voted to take a risk on the Lawrence Academy, at Groton, at 6 per cent. for five years. November, 1847, voted that a convention of insurance companies be held in Lowell, at such time as the president and secretary may deem best; also, voted to refer the application of the Prescott Street (Methodist) Church to the president. January, 1848, notice of a fire in the meeting-house, corner of Suffolk and Lowell

Streets, for helping to put out which John Billings was awarded \$10. April, 1850, the subject of giving up the room occupied by the company, fronting on Market Street, for a banking room (the Prescott Bank opened there) was considered. September 30, 1853, fire in the Museum Building (next to the Postoffice) and the stock of goods (insured in this office) owned by George W. Cummings damaged. It was voted not to take any risks out of the city, after November 1st, and not to renew any such risks. February 4, 1854, fire in "ten-foot" stores on Merrimack Street, owned by Paul R. George and Tappan Wentworth; insured in this office; large loss. July 31, 1854, large fire on Lowell Street; five buildings burned, that were insured in this office for \$7000; loss to the company \$6046.43. May 10, 1856, building corner of Merrimack and Central Streets, owned by W. W. Wyman, damaged by fire to the extent of \$6000. January, 1859, accepted the act incorporating the Company, to continue in force for twenty-eight years, from March 6, 1860.

EARLY POLICIES.

The total number of policies written, from July 1, 1832, to July 1, 1877, has been over eighteen thousand. Of the earlier ones, issued in 1832-'33, the following are cited, and will remind old residents of ancient landmarks and names of business men perhaps forgotten :

No. 1—Luther Lawrence, dwelling, household furniture, &c., on Lawrence Street, \$3500 (now the Wentworth house).

No. 2—William Wyman, stone building on Merrimack Street, occupied by Appleton, March & Co., \$5000, for seven years.

No. 6—Stephen and Thomas Goodhue, dwelling on Lowell Street, west of new canal, \$1500.

No. 8—Seth Ames, furniture and dwelling, \$1500, locality not mentioned.

No. 9—James Tower, stock of dry goods, \$1200.

No. 11—Oliver M. Whipple, dwelling-house and barn in Tewksbury, \$700.

No. 12—Hapgood Wright and Elijah Mixer, stock of boots, shoes and leather, in their store on Central Street, \$1500.

No. 19—Humphrey Webster, dwelling-house, east side of Central Street, occupied for stores, \$400. (After being twice moved, the building has recently been demolished at the corner of Appleton and Gorham Streets.)

No. 21—James and Jonathan Bowers, half of a house west of Pawtucket Canal, \$500.

No. 27—Samuel L. Wilkins, stock of boots, &c., and household furniture, Merrimack Street, \$2000.

No. 29—John Putney, stock of dry goods and crockery, \$1500.

No. 37—Jonathan M. Marston, West India goods and furniture, under the Railroad Bank and in adjoining building (called Morse's Building, now Appleton Bank Block), \$1000.

No. 40—Kirk Boott, furniture, books and wines, \$4500; horses and carriages, \$500; for five years. (House located near where the Boott Mills now are.)

No. 41—Horatio H. Weld, printing material in brick building east side of Gorham Street, \$300.

No. 45—Benjamin Walker, barn and contents in the northerly part of Lowell, near the Falls, now known as School Street, \$500, for seven years.

No. 55—Thomas and John Nesmith, dwelling in Tewksbury, on the bank of the Merrimack River, \$1000. (Formerly owned by Edward S. Livermore and known as the Tavern House, now the wooden ell of St. John's Hospital.)

No. 75—Gilman Kimball, dwelling on a cross street from Lowell to Lewis Streets, \$2500.

No. 79—Proprietors of the South Congregational Meeting-house, on Merrimack Street, now known as the Unitarian Church, \$5000.

No. 80—Henry G. Norton, stock of fancy goods in store under new Methodist Meeting-house on the corner of Suffolk and Lowell Streets, \$3000.

No. 81—James Tyler, furniture in a brick building on Central Street, occupied by him for a boarding-house, \$700.

No. 87—Peter H. Willard, West India goods and groceries, on Lowell Street, \$4000. (Called later "Old Hobbs' Block.")

No. 95—John R. Adams, new brick and stone building, corner Lowell and Adams Streets, to contain one dwelling, sundry rooms for public purposes, and victualling cellar in basement (now known as Adams' Block), \$5000.

No. 106—George Tyler, furniture and movables in the American House, kept by him on Central Street, \$2848. (The house then was wood, two stories, situated near the canal, where the present fine brick structure now stands, and was headquarters for stages, as well as the landing-place for new-comers to town.)

No. 107—Jonathan Tyler, the building now at corner of Middle and Central Streets, \$4000.

No. 116—Ephraim B. Patch, stock of dry goods in store in brick block with stone front on Merrimack Street (now occupied by H. M. Ordway), \$4500.

No. 118—Paul R. George, stock of dry goods and woollens, in brick building on Central Street, known as Dr. Crosby's (same store so long occupied by William S. Bennett, clothier), \$2000.

No. 129—Roland Lyman, stock usually found in jewelry shops, Central Street, \$500.

No. 134—Cornelius Sweetser, stock of boots, &c., in wooden one-story building on Merrimack Street, \$1500.

No. 145—Thomas and John Nesmith, wooden dwelling on High Street, brick dwelling in Howe's Block, and block of houses on Livermore Square, all in Tewksbury, \$2700.

No. 148—William Brown, brick buildings in Tewksbury, near the junction of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers, \$1800. (These now stand at the corner of Brown and Stackpole Streets, and are owned by the Massachusetts Cotton Mills.)

No. 156—Daniel Bixby, stock of books, &c., southeasterly side of Merrimack Street, \$800.

No. 157—George H. Carleton, druggists' stock in the Town House, \$1000.

No. 161—Jonathan Kendall, stock of West India goods, &c., Merrimack Square, \$2250.

No. 165—Danforth Atherton and Abner W. Buttrick, groceries, in basement of Town House, \$1500.

No. 187—Alston Allen and James H. Boyden, corner of Church and Central Streets, \$2500.

No. 188—Methodist Episcopal Society, church on Chapel Hill, \$3000 (now on Prescott Street, and called Industrial Hall).

No. 000—Proprietors of the First Universalist Meeting-house,

on Chapel Hill (lately stood where the new depot now is on Central Street).

No. 189—Thomas and John Nesmith, on dwelling in Tewksbury, occupied by themselves, \$2400, and on furniture, \$1500. (The house was situated where the new Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception now stands; it was later called Leavitt's Block; it now stands at the north of the church, on Stackpole Street, and is occupied by the clergy and officials connected with the church.)

No. 190—William Fiske, dwelling in Tewksbury, \$375.

No. 202—Proprietors First Congregational Meeting-house, brick church on Merrimack Street, \$6500.

No. 206—Cyril Coburn, brick dwelling on Appleton Street, \$4000.

No. 209—Seth Ames, dwelling on Lawrence Street, \$1800.

No. 212—W. D. Mason, John Chase, S. C. Oliver, M. M. Tuxbury, Stephen Whipple and Lewis Fiske, brick Baptist Meeting-house on Suffolk Street (now St. Mary's Catholic Church), \$8000.

No. 214—William Livingston, buildings on Thorndike Street, occupied as dwellings (now woolen mills) near Lowell Brewery, and store-house with stable, \$8500.

No. 222—George W. Whipple, stock of dry goods, No. 49 Merrimack Street, under the Unitarian Church; consent given to move the stock to another store, also additional insurance permitted to the amount of \$4000.

SPECIAL INCIDENTS.

Mr. Whipple, who had obtained the above policy, secured the additional insurance, and had moved his stock of goods from under the church, as permitted, into one of the ten-foot wood stores, where now stands the brick block of Jacob Robbins. This class of buildings, then new, occupied the ground from what is now Hosford's building to the brick building next to the Unitarian Church. Mr. Whipple had occupied this store some six weeks, when on the night of the 2nd of September, 1833, about 12 o'clock, his store was found to be on fire. The writer well remembers the fire-alarm, being an occupant

of a store a few doors above, and sleeping at the time in a rear room of the store. The firemen were soon at work. I think the town had but two hand-engines at this time, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and the Machine Shop one each. Joseph Tyler was Chief Engineer. The fire was checked before much damage was done, and it was discovered that the store had been robbed of its richest goods, then set on fire. A large crowd had collected, and hundreds remained about the store and streets till morning. It was soon ascertained that Mr. Whipple had, the afternoon before, procured one of Thurston's best teams (a horse and chaise) and started for Boston. There was no railroad or telegraph at this time. John P. Robinson, a noted attorney, having done business for Whipple and being quite familiar with him, was employed, in company with Sheriff John Kimball (a shrewd detective, father of the President of our Common Council) to go to Boston at once for Whipple and work up the case. In the mean time there were all sorts of rumors afloat. It had been discovered that Mr. Whipple had sold several lots of goods in Boston at auction; also that he had disposed of goods in town to dealers at much less than cost; also that he was much embarrassed financially. One of our prominent business men, then in the dry goods trade, a member of the Old Residents' Association, made the remark that "it was fortunate he did not go to Boston with Mr. Whipple, as he had arranged to do that afternoon, but circumstances prevented"—for he had bought a large quantity of prints of him a few days before, at a very low figure.

Messrs. Robinson and Kimball, on arriving in Boston, soon found Whipple in his room at Wilde's Hotel, and he returned with Mr. Robinson to Lowell in the afternoon. Mr. Whipple was fully aware that suspicion of

the fraud rested on him. John P. Robinson was a high minded man, very excitable, and always ready to unearth fraud. It was said that Whipple made some inquiries as to what he should do; Robinson's reply was "he had better hang himself." Mr. Whipple was not under arrest, but inspectors were on guard. It was said he went twice to a stable for a team to hunt up the goods, but he did not go. During the next day the goods were heard-from at Woburn. The brick house next west of the new Universalist Church on Hurd Street was occupied by Mr. Whipple. In the rear of his house was a canal—a feeder for the Middlesex Mills—leading from the Hamilton Canal under Central Street. The canal was some fifteen feet wide and three or four feet deep, and it was in this canal where Mr. Whipple's body was found, drowned, the following morning.

The citizens were now wild with excitement. A meeting was called at the Town Hall, and a committee of the following gentlemen was appointed to investigate the case: William Austin, William Heydock, Eliphalet Case, Joshua Swan, Matthias Parkhurst, Benjamin Walker, Elisha Huntington, Samuel C. Oliver—the last five gentlemen being the Selectmen of the Town. The committee subsequently made a long report, in which they say that—"On Monday, the 2nd inst., about 2 o'clock, P. M., said Whipple procured a horse and chaise and proceeded to Boston, where he arrived the same day at five o'clock, and took a room at Wilde's Tavern, Elm Street, where his horse and chaise remained until his return to Lowell on Tuesday afternoon; that between seven and eight o'clock on Monday evening he procured at a stable in Portland Street a horse and covered wagon, under pretence of going to Wilmington for shoes, and immediately left the city; that the same horse and wagon were seen in front

of his store at midnight; that said Whipple entered by a key in his possession, not generally used, and took from the store a large quantity of silk goods, packed by him in four large trunks, brought with him from Boston, and in order to effect his purpose set the store on fire, then left for Boston; that between four and five o'clock that morning, he left the trunks of goods at the 'Black Horse Tavern,' in Woburn, and returned the horse and wagon in Boston about sunrise, and was met at Wilde's Tavern about 10 o'clock, when he was told of the fire in his store. In the afternoon of Tuesday he returned to Lowell, and joined the citizens in their endeavors to ascertain the person or persons concerned in the fire and robbery; that he remained in town till the following morning, when about 5 o'clock he left his house, and soon after was found drowned in a canal near it."

Mr. Whipple for three years or more had been doing a large trade in dry goods; was an energetic business man, and from thirty to thirty-five years of age; commanding in person, of good address and wearing the finest of cloth. His wife was quite attractive, as seen promenading the streets clad in the richest of silks. She had the sympathy of the community, although many thought she urged on extravagance and caused the downfall of her husband. Several pieces of silks were found in the house, secreted in a straw-bed in an unoccupied room. Nothing transpired during the investigation that connected Mrs. Whipple with the concealment. There were no children to bear the burden of the disgraceful fraud and transaction. Thus ended the life of one with all the abilities, acquirements and requisites of a man except moral principle, the foundation of all that is in man. Underwriters have never fixed a rate of premium for this class of risks; the moral hazard cannot

be well ascertained; therefore all policies are void under such circumstances as the above.

Mr. Whipple had been doing a large business in dry goods for two or three years, second perhaps to Whidden & Russell. Walter Russell was a great wag, and on meeting Whipple one evening after closing, having had a great "rush" (as was usual evenings), Mr. Whipple boasted about the amount of his business, saying that half of his customers could not get at the counters. "Oh," replied Russell, "nothing said! At our store they tossed their money right over the crowd and merely called—'Give me something before all is gone.'" Whipple turned on his heel.

January 3, 1848, notice of a loss by Isaac Scripture on his building was referred to a committee; writ served on the company by Mr. Scripture, September, 1849, and the case not settled till November, 1852, when the treasurer paid claim and costs. This is the only case, as the records show, of the Company's contesting a claim in court. The building was a dwelling-house, occupied by tenants, situated a little in the rear of the present Scripture brick bakery. Boys of the occupants had stolen a keg of powder from Whipple's Powder Mills, concealed it in a wood-pile, where the powder became quite wet, then took it to the attic of the house and with a trail of powder fired it off. The roof of the building was entirely taken off, and landed in a yard not far away. A few buckets of water extinguished the fire. One boy was very badly injured, but I think he recovered. After three years' contest by lawyers, judgment against the Company was obtained. Cushing's Reports of 1852, Vol. 10, page 356, refers to this case.

1833 was an eventful year with Lowell. The increase in population for the year was about three thousand. Stages were coming in from all points loaded with new-comers, largely from New Hampshire and Maine. Houses and stores were in great demand. Speculators were buying up lands, buildings were erected and occupied when half completed. One gentleman, a land trader, made the remark that "he had secured nearly all of the corner lots"; there were then not so many corners as now. This gentleman, however, at the end of a year found himself *cornered*, as did many others.

It was in June of this year that Gen. Jackson visited Lowell, bringing together an immense crowd of people from the surrounding towns.

During July and August great excitement and agitation were kept up in regard to the licensing of a theatre, which had been built on Lowell Street, a little above Worthen Street, on the north side. A company was here from the Tremont Theatre, Boston, headed by the late Mr. and Mrs. Barry, at that time star actors. Our Selectmen were firm against license. Several large and boisterous meetings were held at the Town Hall, and hundreds of men congregated outside the theatre, evenings, and a riot was feared, but the Selectmen remained firm. Able attorneys were consulted, and the house was opened for the evening, as advised; but immediately after the performance the actors were arrested and held for trial.

It was at this time, too, the famous trial of the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery was going on, for the murder of the Cornell girl. The trial was not in Lowell, but in Rhode Island, where Avery had located, after a settlement here of two or three years; but Lowell people were greatly interested. A large number of witnesses went from

Lowell to the trial, besides many especially interested in the case. Crowds gathered on the arrival of stages from Boston, for papers and the latest news, as the trial progressed.

It was also the last of August, 1833, that Warren Colburn died—then the Superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company—a man whose name was more generally known throughout the country than any one who has ever lived in Lowell, his books having been so universally used in our schools for a generation or more.

*XI. The Early Trade and Traders of Lowell, by
Charles Hovey. Read February 15, 1880.*

THE beginning of Lowell, as we all know, was the establishment here of "corporations" by the merchants of Boston for manufacturing cotton cloth.

The Merrimaek Manufacturing Company began excavations for their mill sites in 1822, necessarily employing large numbers of laborers. Where people exist whose only capital is their labor, there must be stores of supplies for sale in small quantities.

The only store in the neighborhood at that time, so far as is now known, was that of Captain Phineas Whiting, who established himself in the shoe business near Pawtucket Falls in 1792, and also secured a tract of land which he occupied as long as he lived. He died in his own house, which stood on a part of the land where the elegant brick mansion of Frederick Ayer, Esq., now stands. The "Whiting house" was sold to the late Oliver M. Whipple, who removed it to the westerly side of Lawrence Street, and made it a tenement-house.

It is a natural law of trade that a demand for either money or merchandise will always induce a supply, and it is as certain in its operation as are the predictions of the present day in regard to the weather. Thus it was that Captain Whiting was induced to increase his stock, both in quantity and variety; and thus it is that the city of New York receives its daily supply of meat, milk and other necessaries of life, increasing day by day,

silently but uniformly with the needs of the increasing population.

After a lapse of sixty years since mill work began in Lowell, during which the persons who have begun trade here may be numbered by hundreds, it will not be attempted to enumerate them, or to notice either persons or events in chronological order.

The trade of Lowell having always been confined to narrow limits, and scarcely more than to supply the food and clothing of the rapidly increasing population, is not a prolific subject for a paper for this Association; but as our venerable president, and possibly one or two others, are all whose memories can span the entire history of our city from its beginning to the present, it seemed needful to gather such items in regard to it as are now available, however imperfectly or disconnectedly they may be stated.

Trade was induced by the investment of capital here. With a temporary exception in its early history, it has always been independent of the "corporations." Its history, therefore, is a legitimate part of the history of the city, but of course interesting only to old residents; but to them the recalling of a name or an event will revive many pleasant recollections of their early experience. To this end there is appended to this paper a list of many of the prominent traders during the first ten years of the settlement.

Owing to the migratory habits of the men who flock to a new settlement for trade, it is impossible to give any account of very many who have at some time been here. The history of any one of the corporations could be easily written, for the date of its charter, the names of the stockholders, the purchase of location, the laying of foundations, and all the details up to its production of

cloth for the past week, are matters of record. Every one of them has far exceeded its originally prescribed limits and has literally spread out "like a tree planted by the water-side."

Very unlike this is the history of trade. It commonly finds a congenial soil more by accident than by the wit of man. Successful trade almost always begins slowly and in a small way. It may be stated as a *principle* that the best time to begin is not at high tide, but when business is at low ebb. Every old resident knows that "experience is the best teacher," and he also knows that its teaching to be profitable must be attained by every man for himself. *After it has been attained* it is easy to see how he could have improved his opportunities if he had got it earlier.

Trade cannot be located as can a mill-site, neither can a city be successfully planned beforehand, which fact may in some sort account for the imperfect laying out of some of our streets. Maps of projected cities may be made, truthfully showing remarkable opportunities for commercial navigation, the finest sites for mills, the levellest land for railroads and depots, and everything that can conduce to the laying out of a large city with the least expenditure of capital. Add to this the best climate in the world, perfect drainage and every other natural attraction, but the *traffic*, which is largely the making of cities, *will locate itself* utterly unmindful of man's efforts to divert it.

The city of Chicago is a notable illustration of this principle. Its location is not at all like that just described; but for some reason, business located itself there, and the result has been the most marvellous development of a large city in the world. Thirty years after its first settlement, it became necessary to raise the

grade of large sections of it, involving the raising of blocks of brick and stone buildings from four to ten feet higher than their original elevation.

Lowell is another but much smaller illustration of the same principle in a different way. Trade first began at the west end. The second store was just across Concord River, at the *easterly* end; but the present business centre is between the two original points, from which it now gradually diverges in all directions.

In the year 1824 Mr. Jonathan C. Morrill, Nathaniel Morrill & Co., opened a store on the northerly side of Merrimack Street, and on the west side of Tilden Street. The senior of the three partners was appointed postmaster of the new village, and kept the Postoffice in the same store for one or two years. The building is still standing, and is the same as was afterwards occupied by Jonathan Kendall, Amasa Kimball, Kimball & Wheeler (the late Albert Wheeler), and now by A. Wheeler & Co., the principal of the present firm being the son of the former proprietor. In the changes, both of the building and of the firm, the old board in which was the aperture for the reception of letters for the mails, is still preserved, and has recently been placed in its original position.

One of the most prominent traders in early Lowell was Francis Hobbs, familiarly known as Frank Hobbs. He came here as early as 1826, purchased the nearest land to the Merrimack Corporation that the company would sell him, and built a three-story wooden building which is still standing on Salem Street, nearly opposite the northerly end of Adams Street.

He was a rather short man, quite stout, with a remarkably merry face, which some of us recall with pleasure. His stock consisted of corn and calico, cheese and broadcloth, muslin and molasses, silk and pork,

together with all the other articles in what is known as a "country store," the catalogue of which has no end.

Like many other traders who have obtained their business experience in Lowell, he was induced to move to a large city. He died in New York many years ago. Several prominent men of the city were brought up in his store; conspicuous among them was the late Abner W. Buttrick, who in Mr. Hobbs' time associated himself with a Mr. Atherton, under the style of Atherton & Buttrick. They opened a store in the basement or cellar of the Town House and kept a grocery, then known as a "West India Goods Store," commonly put on the sign over the door as "W. I. Goods." The name was in common use throughout New England, and was probably given for the same reason as that of "English Goods," to indicate what at this day are known as "Dry Goods." The present president of one of the banks of the city was then employed in their store. The firm was the beginning of the present well-known firm of "Buttrick & Co.," of which the late John A. and Alden B. Buttrick, both brothers of the original, have at times been partners, but although the style continues, neither of the present proprietors bears the name of Buttrick.

Both members of the firm of Baxter & Bennett, with whom for many years we were familiar, were graduates of Mr. Hobbs' store. Mr. Baxter died several years ago, but Mr. Bennett is now a member of this Association, retired from business, enjoying the legitimate earnings of his early life, and ruminating on the happy hours he enjoyed while driving Mr. Hobbs' cow to pasture on the land now covered by the buildings of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company.

Between the years 1833 and 1840 the credit of Lowell traders, especially of those in the dry goods line,

was decidedly bad. Very sharp competition was induced by adventurers, who began business without intending to remain or pay for their goods. Almost all who engaged in that business either totally failed or compromised with their creditors. One only out of the large number engaged in the business at that period, who has always "paid a hundred cents on the dollar," has survived. It is hardly needful to mention the name of James Tower to obtain a recognition. His first store was on Central, near Hurd Street, but the oldest among us can scarcely remember him at any other locality than in the building between Central and Gorham Streets, which for half a century has been known as "Tower's Corner." He retired from business some years ago, but is still an active member of this Association.

The first Lowell Directory was printed by Thomas Billings, in 1832. His place of business was in the building which was displaced to make room for the Mechanics Savings Bank Building. At the end of the directory proper there are the advertisements of sixty-six persons who were engaged in trade or other occupations in Lowell, and on the last page is this apology: "Our friends will please accept our thanks for their liberal patronage in advertising in the Directory, and excuse our making up the sheet on different colored paper, as other could not be obtained without retarding the progress of the work.—Benj. Floyd."

The paper which "could not be obtained" was ordinary white printing paper. The advertisements were printed on yellow paper.

Of the sixty-six persons who advertised in it, only two—Mr. James Tower and Mr. George Hedrick—are now living in Lowell, and it is not known that any of the remaining sixty-four survive.

The volume referred to is an interesting one for any old resident to look over. It contains words and expressions now almost obsolete, such as "cordwainer" and "yeoman." Of the latter the number is large and their locations are generally put down as "without the village." There is also a goodly number who kept a "W. I. goods store."

The name of Hapgood Wright, with which we are all familiar, and who has by the gift of one thousand dollars to the city perpetuated it for all time by establishing "The Hapgood Wright Centennial Trust Fund," is believed to be the only person whose store dates back to the time when the first volume of the Directory was printed.

As before intimated, the business of the town was very little, and as the competition was great, the opportunities of suddenly obtaining fortunes in legitimate trade were rare, but for the period covered in this paper it was a *school of experience*, so to speak, at which men were educated for wider fields of operations, and the graduates are scattered in many of the large cities of the country.

It is not possible for a young man of the present day, who is constantly using expresses, telegraphs and telephones, to appreciate the difficulty with which business was done half a century ago, or to imagine that common white printing paper "could not be obtained" without seriously retarding the printing of a few volumes of the Directory—a book the size of a First Reader in the primary schools.

And now, after sixty years, let us for a moment look back at the starting-point. The locality consisted of a few poor farms, partly hill and partly wet meadow, any one of which could probably have been purchased

for the present price of a power carpet-loom. Coincident with the sound of the pick-axe and shovel, there came rushing to the spot hundreds of men, all young, vigorous and ready for the race of life. So far as was known to each other, they were all on one level; to some the hills looked too high; to others the mud too deep. All started. Some gave up at once; others stopped at the foot of the first hill; others sank deep in the mire; many left for smoother ground, while few, *very* few, whose lives have been spared, are counted with the sixty thousand people now occupying the aforesaid farms.

 APPENDIX.

 NAMES OF PROMINENT MEN AND FIRMS WHO WERE IN TRADE IN
 LOWELL FROM 1822 TO 1832.

Phineas Whiting,	Daniel Sanderson,
H. & W. Spalding,	Whidden & Russell,
Alpheus Smith,	Wentworth & Raynes,
John Richardson,	John T. Pratt,
Warren Dyar,	H. W. Hastings,
Jacob Robbins,	Charles H. Sheafe,
George H. Carleton,	John Putney,
Horace Howard,	Joel Stone,
Roland Lyman,	Oliver Sheple,
Mecham & Mathewson,	Thomas Flint,
William W. Wyman,	Thomas Billings,
Samuel L. Wilkins,	Atherton & Buttrick,
Paul H. Willard,	Frye & Abbott,
William Davidson,	James K. Fellows,
Aaron H. Safford,	William Bascom,
Mansur, Child & Co.,	Perez Fuller,
Ransom Reed,	W. S. & T. P. Saunders,
Hazen Elliott,	James Tyler,
Henry J. Baxter,	Paul R. George,
William S. Bennett,	Philip T. White,

Daniel E. Knight,
S. & T. P. Goodhue,
Charles Sanderson,
Jonathan Kendall,
Edward Sherman,
Matthias Parkhurst,

James L. Foote,
Luther Richardson,
William C. Gray,
Dennis Fay,
E. B. Patch,
Charles Green.

SUPPLEMENT, BY A. B. WRIGHT.

The following, written by Mr. A. B. Wright (now a resident of Boston) and sent to the Lowell Courier, seems to be an appropriate continuation of Mr. Hovey's paper :

“Allow me to supplement Mr. Hovey's interesting paper read before the Old Residents' Association, on Wednesday evening, and from my memory add a few more to the list of traders in Lowell between 1826, when I first saw Lowell, and the limit of the period fixed by him, 1832. This list and the localities are made up entirely from my recollection, and I believe is nearly, if not quite, correct. However, if there are any mistakes I think Dr. Green, Col. Bancroft, Capt. Peabody or Mr. Jeroboam Howe, can correct me, as they were all in Lowell at that time.

“I begin on Chapel Hill, with Henry Fletcher (who, I think, had a partner) on Central Street, on the site of the present line of North Street; Robert Taylor, just below, on the corner of Union Street, in the house now occupied by Mr. Currier; John Mixer, Central Street, same building originally occupied by Mr. Converse, harness maker; Addison Bristow, directly in the south line of the extension of Appleton Street; Darius or Artemas Young (which, I do not certainly remember),

corner of Central and Church Streets, being the present location of Nichols & Fletcher ; and perhaps it may be appropriate to name here as next in order, Henry Van Vronker, the genteel and accomplished colored barber, in the rear of the store of Mansur & Reed, on the corner of Central and Green Streets. His widow is now living on Chapel Street, south of Elm, in the same house occupied by herself and husband in 1826. I do not know of but one other family in Lowell who have lived in the same house for so many years.

“In Appleton Street, my impression is that Daniel H. Dean, and perhaps his brother, Horace C., were in business in the house of the former, next west of the Appleton Street Church, the Rev. Mr. Court’s; Chauncy and Alonzo Child were on the same street, in the square house next east of the long brick block. This firm subsequently moved into Gorham Street, into the two-story brick house next south of the stone house. Soon after Alonzo formed a copartnership with Stephen Mansur, and occupied the brick store on Gorham Street, running through to Central Street, opposite the Washington House. I think Henry Flagg had a store in the stone house on Gorham Street; at any rate he was the owner of the building if he did not occupy it. Darwin D. Baxter, was on Gorham Street, in the two-story brick building then owned by David Gove, next south of Mansur & Child.

“Going on to the east side of Central Street again, the next in my recollection was Edward Callender, the husband of Mrs. Callender, named by Mr. Hovey. He was located about on the present site of the Vox Populi office, and is the person who has been several times heretofore named as, with his own hand, opening the

door through which he went into the spirit world. Coming to the south corner of Hurd and Central Streets was one of the Young brothers before named, but I am in doubt as to which. Going to the north corner of Hurd Street, where the Appleton Bank is now located, was Cushing Baker; and passing along to the corner of Warren Street was the crockery store of John Gawn. Perhaps I may tell the readers of the Courier at some future time about the "bull" that smashed things in that "china shop." Opposite the American House the south end of the brick block which occupies the former site of James Tyler's store, was occupied, I am quite certain, by William G. Merrill, who subsequently went to the same locality of C. R. Kimball's apothecary store; and about in the centre of the block was Ward's apothecary store. [Who remembers the articles that were written about those days respecting the wonderful properties of Ward's hair oil? As a burlesque they were incomparable.] In the north end of this same block was the hat-store of the Atkinson Brothers. Those who are in the habit of passing this point may have observed the beautiful elm in front of this store. That tree, when first set out, was watered daily for some years in the summer season by a young clerk in the store. Passing to the location of Mr. Raynes's jewelry store was Benjamin Mather, the second bookseller in Lowell. This store was formerly occupied by Thomas Billings, before he moved to his store on Merrimack Street, in 1828 or 1829. I think this same store was also occupied by Thomas Sweetser, as a variety store, before he also went to Merrimack Street. I remember, also, Thomas Newman, in the same line of trade, who was likewise in this same store for a short time, and subsequently went to

the brick block opposite the American House. Before leaving Central Street, I will name Edward P. Offutt, furniture dealer, who was on this street, or Market Street. Amos Wetherbee is another name, which I think should be classed among the traders of this period. His place of business I cannot locate.

“On Merrimack Street, on the site of the Masonic Building, was Otis Allen, variety goods, and just above Hosford & Co.’s was John S. Patch, and near by was Miss Nancy Waldron, millinery goods. I believe these last three should be included in the period named. Going up to Tilden Street, and what was then Merrimack Street, to the store of J. C. & N. Merrill; my recollection is that Simon Adams was there before then, and he was the first postmaster in what is now Lowell.

“Going into Belvidere, which may not be improper to include in this enumeration, I recollect George Brown, grocer, in the same store now occupied by H. M. Rice & Co.’s meat market, and after Mr. Carleton (Carleton & Hovey) moved from the adjoining store to the Town Hall, it was occupied as a dry goods store by one whose name has escaped from my memory; while on the opposite side, on the west corner of what is now Davidson Street, was Aaron Mansur (named in Mr. Hovey’s paper), who was succeeded by Jacob Jenness, somewhere near 1832. Going to the basement of the City Hotel, was Nathan Durant, grocer, who graduated from the store of Capt. Whiting at Pawtucket Falls, and in the next building beyond the City Hotel was the firm of Gillis & Edes, keeping a large stock usual to a country store.

“This list would not be complete if I did not add to it the firm of Porter & Rogers, the first auctioneers in

Lowell, and who were, for a while, located on Central Street, near Fielding's hardware store ; also Bethuel T. Cross, likewise an auctioneer and son-in-law of Mr. Parker, and whose place of business was on Market Street, where James F. Puffer's furniture store now is."

XII. The Foreign Colonies of Lowell, by Charles Cowley. Read February 15, 1881.

I WONDER, Mr. President, what reply you would have received from "the Early Traders of Lowell," of whom Mr. Hovey has just spoken, if you, who were the contemporary of them all, had foretold to them, fifty years ago, that the time would come, even during your own life, when more than twenty thousand persons of foreign birth, and as many more of native birth but of foreign extraction, would be permanently domiciled in Lowell. Undoubtedly, they would have regarded that prediction as a very wild one. Still greater would their amazement have been, if you had foretold to them that, in 1881, a majority of your own successors in the Board of Aldermen, including the Mayor, would be persons who were born subjects of the British Crown. And yet, each of these predictions would have been fully warranted by present existing facts. Hence my topic to-night: The Foreign Colonies of Lowell.

The population of Lowell, in 1880, was 59,475. The number of the native born was 36,421, and of the foreign born 23,054. Of the native born 24,001 were born in Massachusetts, 4,070 in Maine, 3,902 in New Hampshire, 2,054 in Vermont, 1,271 in New York, 209 in Rhode Island, 204 in Connecticut, 139 in Pennsylvania, 61 in Illinois, 60 in New Jersey, 59 in Virginia, 48 in Ohio, 28 in Wisconsin, 24 in Michigan, 22 in

California, 21 in Indiana, 20 in Maryland, and a few in other States and Territories.

Of the foreign born 10,670 were born in Ireland, 7,758 in Canada, 2,550 in England, 650 in Scotland, 466 in Nova Scotia, 458 in New Brunswick, 107 in Sweden, 74 in France, 61 in Prince Edward Island, 49 in Germany, 21 in Portugal, 21 in Newfoundland, 16 in Prussia, 13 in Italy, and a few in various other parts of the globe.

THE KELTIC COLONY.

The first foreign colony that gained a foothold here since the original English settlements of the seventeenth century, was that from the Emerald Isle, which dates from 1822, when Pawtucket Canal was widened, and the first of the Merrimack mills erected. The first habitations of these Irish pioneers were "shanties," of the rudest construction, with no other chimneys than flour-barrels or pieces of stove-pipe projecting through the roofs. They were but little better than the birch-bark wigwams which the Indians of this valley occupied two centuries and a half ago. They stood together on the "Acre," and "Half-acre." Plans of these "Paddy Camp Lands," so called, are extant in Books 373 and 380 in the Registry of Deeds at East Cambridge, with "Dublin Street," "Cork Street," etc., just as they were laid out.

Some of the first settlers shared their shanties with their swine; but ere long a great collection of piggeries was formed behind the shanties, and a peremptory standing order was issued, "Pigs to the rear." That order was generally obeyed, but not all at once. There was a pig-headed, contrary-minded minority that resented and resisted this "Saxon innovation," and that resolved, in

hog Latin, *stare semper super antiquas vias*, to stand forever on the ancient ways.

Dennis Crowley was the first Kelt in Lowell who applied whitewash to his shanty; Timothy Ford was the first who built for himself a frame house and painted it; Nicholas Fitzpatrick was the second; and the practice soon became common.*

Constant employment on good wages has had a wonderful influence in developing what Theodore Parker called the "instinct of progress" in this Keltic colony, which (including those born here) now exceeds 20,000 in number. When we contrast the poverty of the first settlers with the comfort and respectability in which their sons generally live now—not to speak of the elegance and luxury of the wealthier families—it is easy to see why the Keltic people of Lowell are so strongly attached to their adopted home.

On the 13th of June, 1823, Samuel Frye executed to Luther Richardson a deed of the "Paddy Camp Lands," which was intended to defraud his own minor children, and out of which arose litigation which lasted for sixteen years. Three bills in equity were brought—one in the Supreme Judicial Court, and two in the Circuit Court of the United States at Boston.† Charles Sumner sat as master in one of the cases, and George S. Hillard in the other; and Judge Story wrote seven elaborate opinions.

Great Britain has furnished three separate and distinct colonies to Lowell, besides numerous scattering immigrants. Those who investigate this matter for the first time, will be surprised to find how large a portion

* For various fragments of Keltic-Lowellian history and biography, see the letter of John F. McEvoy, published with "Proceedings in the City of Lowell at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1876," pp. 132—136.

† *Flagg v. Mann*, 14 Pickering's Reports, 467; *Wood v. Mann*, 1 Sumner's Reports, 506, 578; 2 *ibid.*, 317; 3 *ibid.*, 319; *Flagg v. Mann*, 3 *ibid.*, 84.

of our British-born population is derived from three particular counties—Renfrewshire in Scotland, Lancashire and Gloucestershire in England.

THE LANCASHIRE COLONY.

The first of these three colonies was that from Lancashire, and the occasion of it was the necessity which was felt by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company in 1825 for employing the skilled artisans of Manchester in printing their calicoes. To obtain a superintendent for the Merrimack Print Works, Kirk Boott went to Manchester in 1826, and secured John Dynely Prince. Few men have understood the art and mystery of calico printing as thoroughly as did Mr. Prince, and the services of such men have always commanded liberal compensation. Mr. Boott, having satisfied himself that he had found precisely such a man as the business demanded, inquired of Mr. Prince how much salary he would want. Mr. Prince replied, "Five thousand dollars a year." "Why," Mr. Boott exclaimed, "that is more than we pay the Governor of Massachusetts!" Mr. Prince blandly inquired, "Can the Governor of Massachusetts print?"

With but little further parley, Mr. Boott, whose own salary was then but three thousand dollars a year, and never exceeded four thousand dollars, accepted Mr. Prince's terms; and never did the Merrimack Company make a more fortunate engagement.

Mr. Prince was soon followed by many other Lancashire men, who like himself brought families with them, and came to stay. For many years these Lancashire immigrants carried on, almost exclusively, all departments of the Merrimack Print Works—designing,

engraving, printing, etc. Of the first generation two or three only are now living; but to-day, notwithstanding the many changes which the introduction of machinery has wrought in this branch of manufactures, the business of calico printing is still largely carried on by men from Lancashire.

The late Henry Burrows, the successor of Mr. Prince, was one, and the present superintendent, Mr. James Duckworth, is another "of the same old stock." So, when the Hamilton Manufacturing Company undertook the printing of calicoes, they employed another Lancashire expert, William Spencer, to superintend their print works. Two of Mr. Spencer's successors, William Hunter and Thomas Walsh, are from the same hive.

Mr. Prince retained the superintendency of the Merrimack Print Works till 1855, when he retired on a pension of two thousand dollars a year. To his complete mastery of this business the Merrimack Company owe it, that for many years goods bearing their name would command higher prices than other fabrics of equal intrinsic value bearing any other brand. Mr. Prince died in 1860; but the eminent reputation which he acquired by his proficiency in his profession, by his fidelity to his employers, by the baronial hospitality which he dispensed to his friends, by his liberal charity to the poor, and by his quick sympathy for the depressed, still lives in the memories of all who knew him. It was he who received Mrs. Trollope when she visited Lowell in the course of her travels in America.

Mr. Prince was a remarkable man, with just enough of eccentricity about him to make his individuality quite pronounced. If Charles Dickens could have prolonged his visit to Lowell in 1842 for one week, and could have become a little more intimate with this "fine old English

gentleman," I have no doubt that Mr. Prince, disguised under an *alias*, would have found a place in the same gallery with Pickwick and Micawber. Mr. Prince was related by blood to Sir John Dynely, the eccentric baronet, whose many matrimonial projects attracted, in their day, as much notoriety as those, in our own times, of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

It may be worth mentioning that one of our recent Massachusetts congressmen, Mr. Dean, formerly a Lowell lawyer, and another Lowell lawyer, Mr. Greenhalge, now Mayor, are natives of Lancashire. If Charles Stott, another Lancashire Lowellian, could not find time to attend to such matters, his son, Charles A. Stott, could; and he filled the Mayor's office with credit for two terms.

Without mentioning other Lancashire men, who moved in these smaller spheres, and acquired local distinction, I turn for a moment to one of the greatest names in our national history. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the manager of the finances of the colonies during the Revolutionary War, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, and one of the first senators from Pennsylvania—was a son of this ancient duchy. Leaving Lancashire at the age of thirteen, he began business in Philadelphia as a merchant, on his own account, at the age of fifteen. He amassed a princely fortune, and acquired a fame second to none among the merchant-princes of the world in his time. He was the friend and neighbor of Franklin, the friend and exemplar of Hamilton, the friend and confidant of Washington. When the infant republic seemed about to perish in its cradle for want of funds to carry on the war, Morris pledged for it his personal credit for \$1,400,000. When

the most sanguine were sinking in despondency, when even Washington was almost overwhelmed with despair, the lion-hearted Morris never flinched.

His letters to Congress and to the Governors of the several States are published in the twelfth volume of "Diplomatic Correspondence," edited by President Sparks. Chancellor Kent says these letters "cannot but awaken in the breasts of the present generation, in respect to the talents and services of that accomplished statesman, the most lively sentiments of admiration and gratitude."*

When Washington became President, he selected Mr. Morris for Secretary of the Treasury, and thought of no other man in connection with that office. When, to his surprise, Mr. Morris declined, he asked him to name a substitute, and Morris named Alexander Hamilton, whom Washington promptly appointed. While this great man saved the fortunes of his country, he failed to save his own, and the last years of his valuable life were passed in a debtor's prison. To the shame of Pennsylvania, to whose wealth he added millions of dollars, to the shame of the nation which he saved, he died in Moyamensing jail, May 8, 1806.

THE RENFREWSHIRE COLONY.

The manufacture of cotton cloth in the manner adopted by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company had been successfully introduced by the Boston Manufacturing Company, in Waltham, before it was attempted here; and Waltham was called "the Parent of Lowell." In like manner, the manufacture of ingrain carpets was introduced in Medway (and that, too, by the same men,

*1 Kent's Commentaries on American Law, p. 217.

and with the same machinery) before it was introduced by the Lowell Company in Lowell; and the men who introduced this branch of industry were chiefly natives of Renfrewshire.

While the Manchester men were sought for to establish calico printing, the Paisley men were sought for to establish carpet weaving. The pioneers of the Renfrewshire colony came in 1829—Alexander Wright, Peter Lawson and Claudius Wilson. They were followed by scores of others, among whom was Daniel Wilson, brother of Alexander Wilson, the distinguished ornithologist, to whom a statue has been erected in Paisley.

Excepting Royal Southwick and Joseph Exley, all the early managers and overseers of this carpet company were from Renfrewshire.*

THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE COLONY.

The last of the three British colonies was that from Gloucestershire, which dates from 1837. The pioneers of this colony were five men of Uley, whom the brothers, James and Cyrus Cook, met while making a tour through the woolen manufacturing districts in the west of England, shortly after the failure of the Messrs. Sheppard in Uley, had thrown a considerable number of skilled operatives out of employment. From a journal of this tour kept by the elder Mr. Cook, then agent of the Middlesex Company, I quote a part of an entry, dated Uley, April 2, 1837:

“Here I found several families going to America. They had already shipped on board the ‘Laing,’ to sail

* See the paper of the late Samuel Fay, on Carpet Weaving and the Lowell Manufacturing Company, in the first volume of these “Contributions,” pp. 52—61; and the letter of the late Peter Lawson, in the “Proceedings” already quoted, pp. 130—131.

from Bristol in a few days. . . . There are very many people here that might be hired upon any terms, if they could have their passage paid to America." Two days later, the same journalist remarks that "the failure of the Messrs. Sheppard here seems to have stopped so much of the business of this town that many families are starving."

Upwards of sixty passengers from Uley came over in the "Laing," which reached Boston, June 12, 1837, after one of the most tempestuous voyages on record. The voyage lasted nine weeks; all the masts of the "Laing" were carried away, and she was otherwise seriously injured, so that on her return voyage she was lost.

About one-half of the Uley passengers who came in the "Laing" settled in Lowell, and were engaged by the Middlesex Company, and continued in that Company's employ for many years, and their sons and daughters after them. They were not the first Gloucestershire men who took up their abode in Lowell. Several others from Uley, as well as some from other parishes in that populous county, had previously settled here. Among these was John Pitt, a natural son of the famous William Pitt, prime minister of Great Britain during the wars of Napoleon, and a grandson of the first Earl of Chatham. Two daughters of this John Pitt and four grandsons now reside in this city.

Encouraged by the reports of these pioneers, in 1838 and every year afterwards for many years, other Gloucestershire families followed; many of them were employed by Mr. Cook on the Middlesex Corporation, while others engaged in trade or in manufacturing enterprises on their own account.

One of the youngest of them, George Wilkins, afterwards became superintendent of the Middlesex Company's Mills, and was for ten years agent of the woolen mills at Vassalboro', Maine, on a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. Another of these Uley men, Joseph Powell, invented the dressing or sizing machine used in the Middlesex Mills.

Some of these families have become extinct. Others have increased and multiplied in an extraordinary manner. One couple—Josiah Wilkins and wife—bore twenty-two children, including three pairs of twins.

There seems to be some ground for the belief that the ancestors of the renowned Confederate general, Thomas Jefferson Jackson, were people of Uley. The tombs of the Jacksons of many generations are prominent in the churchyard of Uley, the manor of which was long held by them. John Jackson and wife, who emigrated to Virginia during the last century, had a son Edward, and his son Jonathan was a lawyer and the father of the General.

Gloucestershire was one of the counties in which the historic Talbot family for many generations held estates. One of these estates was the subject of controversy for almost two hundred years. In 1469 that controversy was decided in a pitched battle at Wotton-under-Edge, in which a thousand men were engaged, and Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, lost not only the estate in controversy, but also his own life, being shot by an arrow in the mouth. The Talbots of Lowell are a branch of this family, which holds the Dukedom of Shrewsbury and many other patents of nobility in Great Britain and Ireland.

THE FRANCO-CANADIAN COLONY.

There were but few French Canadians here prior to 1865, when Mr. S. P. Marin was employed by some of the manufacturing companies to visit his native Province of Quebec, to present to the people the advantages to be derived from "a change of base," as well as of occupation, and to induce them to remove with their families from the Valley of the St. Lawrence to the Valley of the Merrimack. They have since come in greater numbers than any other class of immigrants, and have effected a permanent foothold here, and the cry is, "still they come."*

There is a great deal of the ancient British blood in these French-Canadians. The French settlers of the Province of Quebec (once called Lower Canada and more recently Canada East) were chiefly from Normandy, Picardy and Brittany; and we know from history that the Gauls, the ancient inhabitants of Western France, were substantially the same people with the ancient Britons. Furthermore, in the course of the hundred and fifty years during which the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians and other filibusters conquered England, history informs us that many thousands of the Britons settled in Brittany (calling it Little Britain) and also in Normandy, which now includes Picardy.

It is curious that after the lapse of a thousand years, the descendants of the rovers who drove the Britons into exile, and the descendants of the Britons themselves, should thus meet and mingle here in a world which, to the ancestors of both, was then, and for hundreds of years afterwards, totally unknown.

* See the "Habitant of Lower Canada," in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1881.

Eight hundred years ago, the population of Normandy flowed over into England, and took charge of its destinies. Is history about to repeat itself? Are these French Canadians, these descendants of the Normans, about to take charge of the destinies of the descendants of the English? Once I looked at this question with some apprehension. But since I travelled through Normandy, and saw the place* where my own ancestors once dwelt before the Norman Conquest, and from which some of them went forth to join the Norman army and to help fight and win the Battle of Hastings, I have learned to look upon this French Canadian immigration with more equanimity. A people that can live and thrive as the people now occupying New England have lived and thriven in spite of all the vicissitudes of the last five thousand years, can have nothing to fear from this source.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The growth of manufactures and the mechanic arts and the introduction of railroads have changed the aspects of Lancashire and Renfrewshire as much as they have changed the aspects of our own Middlesex County; but in Gloucestershire the face of nature has undergone far less change—agriculture being the principal pursuit now as of old.

Not many years ago I travelled through all these counties, and also through Ireland, from the Blarney Stone to the Giant's Causeway, and through the Province of Quebec. I was deeply interested in all of them, and especially in Gloucestershire, where, after their migration from Normandy, my ancestors dwelt for many

**La Ville de Cully.* It is near Falaise. See the Norman People, article, "Cully."

generations. It would require a separate paper to give an account of my tour, and I shall refer here to one thing only—language.

While the dialect of Burns is still much spoken in Renfrêwshire, as one must expect in a county adjoining the land of Burns; while the “Northwestern dialect,” as Lucien Bonaparte calls it, is still much spoken in Lancashire; and while the lower classes of the people in Gloucestershire still speak the Dorset dialect, which Mr. Barnes, the poet of Dorsetshire, calls “the bold, broad Doric of England,” it is manifest that all these dialects are gradually dying out, through the influence of the public schools and the general diffusion of knowledge.

As all educated people in English-speaking countries speak substantially alike, so do all educated people in French-speaking countries speak substantially alike. While some of our French Canadians speak a *patois* which would make a member of the French Academy “stare and gasp,” educated Canadians speak as pure a French as the people of Paris. Paul Féval says, “if you want to hear the true sound of the language of Bossuet and of Corneille, you must go to Canada, where green grows a branch of the old tree of France.”

CONCLUSION.

And now if we contemplate what these colonies have done in this city, are not the words of Charles Sumner as applicable to the foreign population of Lowell as to that of any part of the Union? “The history of our country in its humblest, as well as its exalted spheres, testifies to the merits of foreigners. Their strong arms have helped furrow out our broad territory with canals and stretch in every direction the iron rail. They have

filled our workshops, navigated our ships and tilled our fields. Go where you will among the hardy sons of toil on land or sea, and there you will find faithful and industrious foreigners bending their muscles to the work. At the bar and in the high places of commerce you will find them. Enter the retreats of learning, and there, too, you will find them, shedding upon our country the glory of science."

To the question, "What will be the effect of this immigration?" Mr. Sumner makes the following hopeful reply: "As in ancient Corinth, by the accidental fusion of all metals, accumulated in the sacred temples, a peculiar metal was produced, better than any individual metal; so perhaps, in the arrangements of Providence, by the fusion of all races here, there may be produced a better race than any individual race, Saxon or Kelt. Originally settled from England, the Republic has been strengthened and enriched by generous contributions of population from Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, Sweden, France and Germany."*

The best evidence that our Keltic and Teutonic populations will fuse into one, is the fact that they are members of the same Aryan race. Both Kelt and Teuton, as Brother Azarius reminds us, "started from the same Aryan homestead. They had the same stock of ideas, the same principles of action, the same manners and customs. They spoke the same language, with very slight variations," originally. But, now, when after many centuries of separation, the Kelt and Teuton meet in this new world, they find themselves strangers to each other; they recognize no special affinity to each other; their language has developed new forms. They have

*Works of Charles Sumner, volume 4, pp. 77, 78. The speech here quoted was delivered by Mr. Sumner in Lowell, October 31, 1855.

widely diverged in character and disposition, so that they have little in common save this community of origin and of race; and yet, they will finally assimilate. Of that there can be no manner of doubt. One in the far past, they will assuredly become one in the not distant future.

*XIII. Lowell and the Monadnocks, No. 2, by
Ephraim Brown. Read November 2, 1881.*

THREE GLASS MANUFACTORIES.

ONCE again I ask the members of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, to stand with me on the beautiful heights that skirt the eastern boundary of our city, and to look westward over the broad and wide landscape, that lies within the crescent sweep of the distant Monadnocks. It is the basin of the Merrimack.

Writers on the rise and progress of our busy city enlarge with pride on the early manufactures which began and have been carried on here. Laudable efforts have been made to gather up the histories of all these enterprises, and the Old Residents' Historical Association is one of the outgrowths of these efforts. It constitutes an important nucleus, around which and toward which these efforts centre. It stimulates, it collects, and it keeps. By its work the early life of our city and its surroundings will be rescued from that oblivion which was gathering like a darkness, because no hand found a place in which to preserve what it recorded. The Old Residents' Historical Association unlocks and opens to view, and will forever keep, a very large amount of early history, of great interest now, and to be of still greater interest a thousand years hence.

Lowell and its landscape are rich in events which have no record within any public organization within their boundaries; and from these heights, I now open to

your vision a few pages of early history, that for want of record have been fast sinking into the abyss of the lost and the unknown. The astronomer by his glass brings the heavens near, and so to-night, by glass, I bring what is past near.

This rich landscape upon which your eyes now rest, is the seat of three glass manufactories. They all originated here, found most of their supplies here, and largely disposed of their products here.

The first one, began and ended forty-six years before Lowell had its name; the second one began in Lowell some twenty-four years before Lowell was born and named, and ended its career in Lowell forty-two years ago; and the third one began fifteen years ago, and is in active operation to this day, by a citizen of Lowell.

The first and third were located in the distant region which forms the background of the charming landscape your eyes are resting upon; in fact the ruins of the first and the active life of the third are only hidden by some little elevations between. while the site of the second is within the bounds of Lowell and almost under your feet.

Drawing aside the veil of time, I see the smoke of their fires, in three stately columns, ascending to the clouds, and in the darkness of the night the lurid glare from their furnaces glows upon the sky like the aurora.

Again, what do I see? Flame and smoke are rising above the mountain tops and in this valley, and conflagrations are reducing their works to ashes.

They rise again. One soon to be abandoned, and in the oblivion of one hundred years to be lost from public sight; the second to be changed to another portion of the Merrimack basin and some twenty years after to

be discontinued; and the third, still in active life. By this it is seen that the manufacture of glass has been conducted in four distinct localities within the sweep of our vision.

Fix your eye on that towering pinnacle, the grand Monadnock, seen almost directly west. Twenty miles this side, and a little to the south, you see on the summit of the hither ridge, a broad and comparatively level plateau, extending south, toward the New Ipswich line, one mile distant. This plateau embraces some hundreds of acres of hard land.

On this plateau one hundred and one years ago were erected the first glass-works within our landscape view. In the year 1780, the little town of Temple, N. H., was electrified by the advent of one Robert Hewes, from Boston. His coming was to erect a manufactory of glass. The first settler had been there but twenty-three years, and the Monadnock tops had hardly heard the sound of his axe; but every inhabitant of Temple felt a thrill of interest, that so distinguished an establishment was to be within its borders.

The Revolutionary War being then in full activity, and all importations of glass from England being by English law prohibited, and from all other countries being nearly impossible, by reason of the blockade, Robert Hewes resolved to supply the American people from American glass-works, to be carried on from the tops of the Monadnocks.

In 1780 (one hundred and one years ago this autumn), on this mountain top he built his first factory. Were the building standing there now, and the intervening trees removed, I think its roof and tall chimney would be within your vision.

I visited the spot in 1877. From that visit, from

the statements of my father, who was born on that mountain range in 1790, from the stories told me by Temple people while teaching school some five terms in various districts along the foot of the range, from the centennial history of Temple, of 1858, and from some knowledge of glass-making, by reading and observation, I will endeavor to portray briefly, but succinctly, the course of events and the results.

On the first of May, 1780, Robert Hewes and his men began the erection of his glass-factory and completed the same, solely on his own expense. In the autumn or early winter he started fires. By some mishap the buildings soon took fire and burned down.

It is stated that the glass-blowers were German Hessians and Waldeckers, who had been employed by the British as soldiers to fight us, but loving liberty better than war, had deserted from the British army and had become employés, as glass-blowers, of Robert Hewes. Now, in every glass-factory that I have examined, there has appeared to be a large proportion of the low-class Germans—dissipated, drinking and quarrelsome men. Hewes had just such men. They got drunk, perhaps in jollification of the first success in producing glass, and the burning of the works was the result. This was a heavy blow to Mr. Hewes. Winter was coming on; his workmen to be fed and paid, and his works had been destroyed.

The people of Temple also became solicitous; for if Mr. Hewes gave up, not only would there be no glass-works there, but the *glass-blowers* would be there, as low paupers that the town must support. Towns and cities were very watchful about the incoming of strangers, who might become paupers, and warrants were served upon strangers, warning them out; and warnings were served on Hewes and his men.

But to prevent the abandonment of the enterprise, the people of Temple also rallied to the aid of Mr. Hewes; and in a short time the buildings were reconstructed and ready for business. Then frost shattered his furnaces so that they would not stand the fire, and they gave way upon the production of the first samples of glass.

Beset with difficulties, delays, and loss, funds began to fall short, and the great want was money. The people had no money to lend to the enterprise, and might not choose to invest there if they had. Then Mr. Hewes petitioned aid from the State, asking "freedom from taxation on his buildings," exemption of taxes for his men, and the granting of a bounty upon the glass produced.

January 2, 1781, the House of Representatives of New Hampshire voted to receive and accept Mr. Hewes' petition, but postponed the bounty till good window-glass could be successfully produced.

The persistence of Mr. Hewes is best illustrated by the following petition made to the Selectmen of Temple, in the winter of 1781, written from Boston:

"Gentlemen: After due respects, hoping these will find yourselves and families *well*, they are to inform, that being almost discouraged by the misfortunes I have met with, & the little spirit of the People to encourage me, I am almost determined to drop all thoughts of prosecuting the Glass-Manufactory in Temple, for why should I strive to introduce a Manufactory to benefit a people that has not spirit enough to subscribe a trifle to encourage it, when I have met with a misfortune—for if the Business ever comes to perfection it will be a greater service to the *country* than it possibly can to *me*, even if I make my fortune? But, Gentlemen, *it was not money*

only, that induced me, but it was because I was satisfied I could do it, & in so doing serve my country most essentially—more especially your Town. You will do well, Gentlemen, to consider this is not a thing for a moment, but it is laying a foundation for the good of Posterity; for certain *I am*, if my Glass-works are brought to perfection, they will soon be as universal as the Iron works, or many others: as I said to Esquire Blood the other day, that the Glass-makers should be employed, if it were only to steal their art.

I think the Town of Temple, as a Town, will be highly culpable if they let this matter slip without a struggle. But it is not for me to point out the advantage you are all sensible of.

What I have to say is what will your Town do to encourage the matter? I shall have to send 60 miles for stones to build my melting furnace, which will take eight teams, & then all the other furnaces are *to be rebuilt*; but all this while, the Glass-makers and families are to be supported, which will be a costly affair.

Your court will make a Lottery, I suppose, but that will be a thing of Time. Can I be credited for one or two Carcasses of Beef, till the Lottery is drawn, or what way can you think of to help me till the works are set *a-going*?

I should be glad to know your opinion of the matter as soon as possible, so that I may know what to determine.

From Your Friend & Humble Servant,

ROBERT HEWES.

P. S. Mr. Ashley will wait upon you with this & receive your answer, & transmit it to me as soon as possible—

R. H.

P. S. If I could be properly encouraged, I would come up in the *Spring* and work at it myself till it comes to perfection."

"March 5, 1781. The Town voted to advance upon a loan to Mr. Hewes £3000, with good security, to be assessed in two months, & collected as soon as may be."

On the same day, March 5th, Mr. Hewes' agent, at the glass-house, wrote to the selectmen "requesting provisions."

March 11th, Mr. Hewes writes to the selectmen from Boston, declining the loan of £3000 if security is required; states he will not assume any further risk or responsibility; that ten times that sum could be secured in Boston, if he wanted it, but that he had determined to recede immediately, and proposed to sell his interest in the works at a low price; had resolved to do nothing further except bring down the workmen, if nobody appears to purchase the houses and tools.

March 24th, in a letter from Boston, Mr. Hewes proposes to the selectmen, that he be supplied money, on a loan, on the strength of the lottery, for which he seems to have petitioned the General Court of New Hampshire, and requests that his glass-blowers be furnished with supplies for subsistence.

It was not till March 30, 1781, that the lottery act was passed, giving leave to raise £2000, new emission, for the Temple Glass-Works, and appointing three men to conduct the lottery, and report their proceedings and account to the General Court within one year. A *fac-simile* of the lottery-tickets may be found on page 171 of the History of Temple.

The tickets would not sell. I have no statement

what their prize was to be. I infer the great lack to have been want of faith in the glass-works.

Robert Hewes abandoned the enterprise, but left sundry of his glass-blowers, paupers, or to become paupers, upon the town of Temple, unless removed therefrom by law or strategy. The vigilant authorities of the town had warned them out on arrival; but now, with the works abandoned, these helpless, destitute glass-blowers and their families were left to steal or starve, and to multiply that dread of early settlements, town paupers. These helpless people seemed in danger of starving. The young and feeble could not leave, unaided, and some of the able would not. The people of the town by some aid and a good deal of management, got them on the road toward Boston, and in due time they were there.

Now, the town of Boston was excited—indignant, that Temple people should shove off its paupers upon Boston. A writ was issued to serve upon the first Temple officer that should come to Boston, to arrest and lock him up till Boston's expenses, past and prospective, for supporting Temple's paupers were satisfactorily adjusted.

A few months after, one of the Boston officers stepping into an office on State Street, inquired of the occupant by what means, he (the officer) could send a letter to Temple, N. H. Introducing a stranger to the officer, the occupant added: "Here is Mr. James So-and-so, treasurer of Temple, N. H." "Ah," said the officer, "very glad to see you. I hold a warrant for your arrest. You must go with me." And so he went.

In due time Boston learned that its paupers had gained no right of livelihood on the Monadnocks, but

were Boston paupers still, and our Temple officer was discharged.

Nearly all the foregoing facts and many minor incidents were related to me forty years ago, by the hosts and hostesses who welcomed, entertained and cared for the schoolmaster, as guest, during the school seasons of five years.

My recent visit to the site of these glass-works was of great interest. It would be rare to find a more romantically-historic and beautiful spot, on a warm, sunny, September afternoon. I found the foundation-stones of the works so completely in place as to show the exact ground plan. Laid without mortar, in some places they rise several feet from the ground, and are especially conspicuous where the melting-pot and chimney-stack stood. There are fragments of bricks—the common and fire-bricks, many with vitrified surfaces, to be found on the grounds; and there appear abundant evidences that the works were complete.

There are interesting questions, inferences and conclusions that crowd up for expression. I can touch only part of them. Why did Robert Hewes come to the top of this mountain range to make glass? I answer: He thought a very large part of the needful material was here. The land was of little value, the support or sustenance of his men inexpensive, and fuel for the cutting. He seems to have built his first melting-furnace so entirely of the stone of the place (mica slate, intersected with silex veins) that fire and frost tore them down. Then he writes to the selectmen, as quoted before: "I shall have to send sixty miles for stones to build my melting-furnace, requiring eight teams." Mr. J. W. Walton, of New Ipswich, stated in 1859, that these stones were obtained in Uxbridge, Mass., and conveyed

by ox teams. I infer the material for the melting-pots came from Uxbridge or Boston.

The forests of the Monadnocks would supply fuel and potash. But the silix, or sand, whence was that? Glass is purified silix, and all other material used is only to purify and liquify it. The general belief has been that he got it in the neighborhood of his works. One tradition has been that it came from Magog Pond, in Littleton, Mass. Littleton is thirty miles distant, and when Mr. Hewes mentioned stones from sixty miles, I think he would have included sand thirty miles, if it came from so far.

If one looks for sand beds, on this plateau, he will look in vain. Within eighteen years the Lyndeborough Glass-Works seem to have solved that question; but no doubt Hewes solved it eighty-five years before, and collected the silix boulders almost covering this plateau, calcined them in one of his furnaces, crumbled them to sand and thus found an abundant supply. A stone base of such a probable furnace stands now, close by the principal ruin.

A Mr. Hewes, of Piqua, Ohio, wrote to the historian of Temple: "I remember seeing the glass decanters, &c., which my mother told me were made at his glass-works in New Hampshire." Very little, however, was accomplished except to begin.

Mr. Hewes was no common man. He was ingenious, industrious, a great reader, and an enterprising man, as his glass-works prove. Being left by his father with \$50,000, it seems he resolved not to risk all. He carried on business in Boston, retrieved his losses in New Hampshire, and died in 1830, aged seventy-nine years.

Unkind criticism is often meted out to unsuccessful enterprise, and that, too, very unjustly and ungenerously.

What succeeds is praised; what fails is denounced. Suppose the founders of Lowell had failed? Does it follow that founders are to be discountenanced? No. In every good enterprise, lend them kind words and helping hands; for who knows which shall prosper, either this or that, or all be alike good?

CHELMSFORD GLASS-WORKS.

The second establishment within the basin of the beautiful Merrimack for the manufacture of glass, was under our feet, within the bounds of our favored city of Lowell.

Who has not heard of "Chelmsford glass"? Especially who *did* not, if living within the Merrimack basin sixty years ago? You can look down from where you now stand, upon the exact spot where the works stood. In our beautiful suburban village, Middlesex, there is a street at right angles with Middlesex Street, on its south side, just westerly of the fine mansion of our enterprising citizen, M. C. Pratt, Esq., and the first street this side of and parallel with the bed of the old Middlesex Canal, now filled up with earth, through the beautiful grounds of Mr. Pratt. On the westerly side of this cross street, and about thirty rods south of Middlesex Street, stood the furnace buildings of the Chelmsford Glass-Works. The buildings have been removed and little remains except a range of store-houses.

These works were established in 1802, by Hunnewell & Gore, of Boston, and their product was chiefly window-glass, and other glass was made in smaller quantities. Hunnewell & Gore were glass merchants, or manufacturers, and I have an impression were interested in other glass-works.

About four years ago I began to collect facts regarding the Chelmsford Glass-Works, and I found considerable difficulty in obtaining exact knowledge, because the works were discontinued in Lowell in 1839. Forty-three years ago they were moved to the town of Pembroke, N. H., and the books carried there. There are two or three men in Lowell still who were employed in these works.

I went to the village of Suncook, in Pembroke, the place of residence of Mr. William Parker, who had the sole charge and half-ownership of the works to the time of the suspension of glass-making there, in 1850. Mr. Parker died only some four weeks before my visit.* The only survivor of the family at home was his youngest daughter. She kindly gave me a free examination of such books as would impart information relative to the history of the works. I also had an interview with Mr. William E. Hirsch, a glass-blower there, sixty-seven years of age, who was employed in the works in Lowell and went to Suncook in 1839. Some papers, also, of the late Sidney Spalding, of our city, who was clerk at the

*Some of you were, doubtless, well acquainted with Mr. Parker. The following obituary notice, from the Manchester "Mirror and American," of September 14, 1877, is of interest to his friends and acquaintances:

"William Parker died at his home in Suncook, Tuesday, September 11th. He was born in Merrimack, December 16, 1797, and began business as a landlord of the Parker Tavern at Reed's Ferry, one of the famous hostelries of those days. Subsequently he was landlord of the Adams Hotel at Chelmsford, Mass. His next business venture was as a merchant at Tyngsboro', Mass., in which he continued about two years. He then purchased the Chelmsford Glass-Works, at Middlesex Village, which he operated for ten years. In 1839, he removed the business to Suncook, and erected new buildings, enlarged and extended it, and until 1850 continued to carry it on. In that year he closed the factory, and having bought the Buntin farm, just below Suncook Village, moved upon it, and afterwards devoted his energies and skill to farming. For twenty years he was widely known as one of the most earnest, progressive and successful farmers in Merrimack County. He was an ardent admirer of fine stock, of which his spacious barn has always contained splendid specimens. He was also an intelligent husbandman, as his farm bore witness, and few men in the State have done more to encourage and sustain our fairs and other agencies of agricultural advancement than he. As a manufacturer and business man, in his earlier days, Mr. Parker was also extensively known, and universally respected; and as a citizen and neighbor he could always be relied upon to do more than his share of any work which the public good or neighborly kindness demanded."

establishment in Chelmsford, when he was a young man, and part owner afterwards for many years, were placed in my hands.

From these, from Allen's History of Chelmsford and other sources of knowledge, I have made up a sketch of the history of the works, as accurately as I can, and while in some points there may be errors, in the main they are nearly correct.

Two years before the opening of the Middlesex Canal, which was in 1804, Hunnewell & Gore erected the Chelmsford Glass-Works. Allen fixes the date at 1802. It was a private or copartnership enterprise by Boston parties, with resident manager and employes in Chelmsford.

As the works had ten years in which to come into successful operation before the war of 1812, it is reasonable to suppose that the closing of our ports gave a great impetus to the manufacture of glass in America, and a corresponding activity in the Chelmsford Glass-Works. Allen hints the same regarding other manufactures. The late Joel Powers said that Couper, a German, of Boston, was selling agent. Mr. Hirsch says Couper controlled the glass manufactory on Essex Street, Boston, had a warehouse on Merchants' Row, and that Loring & Couper's sign was on the building as late as 1873. The same Boston parties carried on the South Boston Glass-Works for a period, and afterwards discontinued them.

Mr. Frederick S. Geer, of Lowell, was employed in the works and Mrs. Geer says most of the glass-blowers of the Chelmsford Glass-Works were Germans, and names among them Weaver, Baruch and Cook, who escaped from France at the time Napoleon married Maria Louise of Austria, and came to Chelmsford as glass-blowers.

Mr. Hirsch says there were glass-works in Chester,

Mass., and Cheshire County, N. H., all making window-glass.

There were two modes of working glass for glazing, one producing "crown-glass" the other "cylinder-glass." The molten glass was taken upon the end of a rod of iron called a pontil, and the rod was rapidly revolved in the hands of the workman, till the centrifugal force of the revolutions had expanded the glass into a thin disk or wheel three or four feet in diameter. When this thin glass disk was cut up into squares or panes it was "crown-glass." The other mode was to take the glass from the melting-pot upon the end of an iron tube about four feet long. Applying the free end of the tube to his lips the workman forced air into the viscid mass, which was expanded thereby into a hollow ball. A revolving motion was imparted, then more air given, until the ball was considerably enlarged. It was then revolved upon a table to form it into cylindrical shape and expanded by blowing and rolling, till it was a large, long, hollow cylinder. Then it was cut open and its walls laid flat upon the table as a sheet, which being cut up into panes was "cylinder-glass." Cylinder-glass was the best and the most profitable to make.

About 1802 a Mr. Frieze, a German glass-maker in Baltimore, Md., visited Europe, and the father of Mr. Hirsch, with others, came to America in consequence. Mr. Hirsch began to blow, in Chelmsford, at the age of sixteen, in the year 1817.

Mr. Geer was a glass-cutter. One informant stated that the Chelmsford works ran two furnaces, employed ten blowers, working ten hours per day, three days in a week, then five. With the other employés the works supported some sixty or seventy people, and made quite a market for the little town of Chelmsford, of seventy

years ago—before our city was dreamed of. But the most complete account is found in Allen's History, published in 1820. He says :

“ On the east bank of Middlesex Canal, at a distance of two hundred rods from Merrinack River, a large building one hundred and twenty-four feet long and sixty-two wide, with necessary appendages for manufacture of window-glass, was erected in 1802.

“ Near it is a two-storied house, handsomely finished, designed for the residence of the overseer, and around it, at convenient distances, a number of smaller houses for the accommodation of the workmen and their families.

“ There are appertaining to this manufactory about twenty families, consisting of forty men, twenty women and forty children—one hundred in all. It is now in a flourishing state. About three hundred and thirty thousand feet of window-glass are annually made, or three thousand three hundred boxes of one hundred feet each, which at \$13 per box will amount to \$42,900.

“ The situation is very favorable for transportation of glass to Boston, and those raw materials from thence which it would be expensive to convey by land. A ready and cheap supply of wood is also easily obtained, of which it is estimated that about two thousand cords are annually consumed in the manufactory and houses attached to it.

“ The manufactory consists of two furnaces, three flattening ovens, two tempering ovens, six ovens for drying wood, cutting, mixing, and pot-rooms, a kiln for burning brick, a mill-house and sand-house.”

To my inquiry, “ Where did the supplies come from ?” Mr. Hirsch answered : “ Up the canal and down the river.” The soda-ash, potash, lime, salt

and sand, came on the canal from Boston. When first established potash was largely used. After the war, soda-ash from England, took the place of potash to a large extent. "But from whence did the sand come to Boston?" I asked. He answered: "From Morris River, New Jersey." The fuel was wood. It came down the Merrimack River in boats and rafts. It was pine wood entirely. No coal was used, neither any hard wood. In fact it was not discovered that anthracite coal would burn at all till 1826—twenty-four years after these works were established. The wood was from the plains of Concord, N. H.

Iridescence or rainbow colors, was a defect in glass, and caused more or less trouble. Bad fuel, hard wood, bad sand and impurities in other supplies were the cause, not only of iridescence but of brittleness, waves and dark colors, especially green. If you will notice glass in houses erected forty to sixty years ago, you will detect these defects. I noticed them more than fifty years ago, in the Chelmsford glass of my father's house.

The fire-bricks and also the melting-crucibles were composed of German clay. Crucibles are very perishable, take a long time to make and are a costly item in glass-making.

The Chelmsford Glass-Works were carried on, presumably with fair success, from 1802 to about 1827 or '28—some twenty-six years—when Hunnewell & Gore, the proprietors, failed; and Samuel P. Hadley, Esq., remembers that at about this time the works were burned. This seems to have stopped glass-making in Chelmsford, for the time being.

Either to continue the prosperity of Chelmsford, or to reap the profits of the trade, or both, Chelms-

ford people formed a company, procured a charter, and commenced operations as a corporation to manufacture glass at the old works. It is from the aforesaid examination of the books of the corporation, at Suncook, chiefly, that I trace the further history of the Chelmsford Glass-Works.

The first recorded meeting of the new corporation was held July 11, 1828, at the house of Mr. Simeon Spalding, in Chelmsford, when the company was legally organized. Jesse Smith was chosen treasurer and William Adams, Samuel T. Wood, Daniel Richardson, Jesse Smith and Amos Whitney, Jr., were elected directors.

“Voted, That Daniel Richardson be an agent of the Chelmsford Glass Company, to take a deed of the real estate, described in bond of William Sullivan, John Bumstead, John Bellows and Eben Chadwick Glass Company, to Cyrus Baldwin, Samuel T. Wood and Daniel Richardson.” (Dated March 25, 1828).

He was also empowered to give a mortgage deed to secure the payment of part of the purchase money, and to give notes and securities as necessary, and to use the seal of the company.

“Voted, To assess \$12.50 per share, before July 19th, more than was raised, previous to being incorporated.”

This last vote seems to recognize some organization previous to obtaining a charter, in which these members of the new company had paid assessments.

It seems that a private copartnership, or corporation, had begun, but whether glass was made during its

existence, I have no means of knowing. Members of such a concern would have been individually liable for its debts; under a charter they would not; besides, a corporation with charter, seal and organization is a stronger body than a private company.

“ Voted, That the directors be empowered to assess as much as they shall think necessary, not exceeding \$100, on each share, including the sums already paid.”

“ Voted, To raise by assessment \$12.50 per share, to be paid before 15th August, being fifth assessment.

“ Adjourned to July 25th.

CHARLES BLOOD, Clerk.”

Article third of the by-laws limited the votes of stockholders to ten, however many shares were held. Article fourth, that dividends be semi-annual, if able.

The annual meeting of the next year was held July 13, 1829, at John C. Bixby's Hotel, in Chelmsford. The old officers seem to have been re-elected.

Another meeting was held at Bixby's in 1830, and it was

“ Voted, To run the fire of Chelmsford Glass-Works another year.

“ Voted, To make preparation for another fire.

“ Voted, To purchase wood lots.

“ Voted, To prosecute for bad potashes from Maine.”

By the first of these four votes, it seems that stopping the works was discussed. By the last vote, that the company had been imposed on in buying bad potashes. If there was not satisfactory prosperity, it was only the common experience of new men in a new business.

The annual meeting was held at Bixby's, July 12, 1830. Charles Blood was elected clerk and Jesse Smith treasurer. Directors elected were Daniel Richardson, Jesse Smith, Amos Whitney, and Eben Adams.

The next annual meeting was held July 11, 1831. It was voted, "to divide at the end of three months whatever money there is on hand." Samuel Burbank was chosen clerk. The directors' report was accepted, and John Kendrick & Co.'s report put on file.

This meeting seems to have left unfinished business, for July 15, 1831, there was a meeting and it was "voted that the treasurer be required to give bonds in \$10,000," and "a committee to examine the accounts of John Kendrick & Co., was chosen. Voted, that the clerk furnish the committee with the doings of the selling agents, Kendrick & Co. for the committee's examination."

The annual meeting called July 9, 1832, was twice adjourned, and finally held August 9, 1832. Chose Samuel Burbank clerk and treasurer. Directors—Samuel T. Wood, Shepard Lamb, William Parker, John Kendrick and John McGaw. "Voted. there be a dividend of \$20 per share."

In 1833 William Parker was elected clerk and treasurer.

The next record quoted in my memorandum seems to have been August 5, 1839, to wit: "Voted, That William Parker be authorized to *sell and convey* any part or all the real estate of the company and in their name."

This last vote implies the giving up of the works in Chelmsford; and the next record was of a meeting held in Pembroke, N. H., July 14, 1840.

In 1835, the stock of the Company was owned by four or five persons, William Parker holding sixty-two shares and sixty-three more shares being held by other persons. The capital stock was \$12,500, at par value \$100 per share; and Mr. Hirşch says it sold at one time at \$180 per share. From 1829 to 1840 the dividends appear to have averaged about 6 per cent. per annum.

The motive for moving the works from Chelmsford to Pembroke was: reduced cost of supporting the workmen, ease of obtaining cheap fuel, and close proximity to an abundant supply of sand at Massabesic Pond, in Chester, now Manchester. The works were carried on there from 1839 to 1850.

But there were heavy drawbacks in New Hampshire. The expected supply of suitable sand proved a delusion. The sand from Massabesic produced glass of so dark color, by reason of iron, that the glass was unsalable. Sand from Morris River, New Jersey, was the only resort, with increased cost for transportation.

The revision of the tariff in 1845 brought another disaster. The duty on imported glass was made so low that the country was supplied with European glass at less price than the cost of production here, and in consequence the manufacture of glass by Mr. Parker was abandoned in 1850. He made no glass after that date.

Thus ended the second establishment for the manufacture of glass in the Merrimack River basin.

There is another manufactory of glass in Lyndeborough, N. H., well known to Lowell people.* It is

* In response to inquiries concerning the works at Lyndeborough, which were incorporated in 1866, Mr. Putnam writes briefly and as follows:

SOUTH LYNDEBOROUGH, N. H., Nov. 3, 1881.

EPHRAIM BROWN, Esq.:

Dear Sir— Your notice gives me only time to say that the glass business was commenced at this location on account of the immense supply of pure silica, from quartz

situated upon that vein of silix which is described in the published papers of our Association, No. 25.

rock here, the chief constituent of glass, and the large supply of wood. At the time these works were started there were in New England seven other places where bottle ware was made and other lines of goods similar to those made here. As the ware from these works entered the market, the products of the other manufactories gradually disappeared, until every other factory in this line of goods in New England abandoned the business, confirming the superiority of goods made from pure material. Many improvements have been introduced here to cheapen cost of production, and the business has gradually extended, until its clients are now found in all parts of the country. The present capacity of the works is four tons of molten glass daily, employing eighty-five hands. Carboys and general bottle ware are the staple productions, including rattan-covered demijohns. At first wood was the only fuel used, then coal, and now crude petroleum is successfully used. I would be glad to say more, but must close in order to have this reach you by to-day's mail.

Respectfully yours,

J. D. PUTNAM.

XIV. The Melvin Suits, by Hon. John P. Robinson.

HON. JOHN P. ROBINSON was born at Dover, N. H., in 1799; educated at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.; graduated at Harvard College in 1823; studied law in the office of Daniel Webster and commenced practice in Lowell in 1827. He represented Lowell in the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1829, '30, '31, '33 and '42. He was Senator for Middlesex County in 1835, and served as one of the Committee on the Revised Statutes in 1836. He married a daughter of Ezra Worthen, and had one daughter, who, with the mother, still survives. He died October 20, 1864. H. G. F. Corliss was associated with him, first as a student, and afterwards as a partner. It has been truly said that "John P. Robinson was an able and accomplished lawyer, and a thorough classical scholar."

The poet Lowell, in his quaint way, has rendered his name famous :

George N. Briggs is a sensible man;
He stays to his home and looks arter his folks;
He draws his furrer as straight as he can,
And into nobody's tater-patch pokes.
But John P.
Robinson he
Says he won't vote for Governor B."

We are indebted to his personal interest in the celebrated Melvin Trials, as counsel for the defendants, for the following characteristic and graphic account of them :

“In 1771, Thomas Fletcher died, seized of a farm of about one hundred and thirty acres, and another piece of outland of about eighteen acres, situate in that part of Chelmsford which is now Lowell. He left two daughters, Rebecca and Joanna, his only heirs at law. Rebecca married Dr. Jacob Kittredge and Joanna married Benjamin Melvin, prior to 1782; so that at that time Kittredge and his wife owned an undivided half in her right, and Melvin and wife owned an undivided half in her right of both pieces. Kittredge and his wife both died prior to 1820, leaving ten children, their heirs at law. Melvin and his wife died prior to 1831, leaving seven children their heirs at law. The lands which the Melvin heirs claimed were the eighteen acre lot and about eight acres of the farm, making twenty-six acres in all.

“The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals claim to hold these lands by deeds from Melvin and wife and Kittredge and wife, made in 1782, by sundry mesne conveyances subsequently made, and more than thirty years possession. The Company in 1820, '21 and '22, bought out, or intended to buy out, the title of every person who had any right or claim to this land, and they paid the owners or occupants the price which they asked. All went on quietly as before until 1832, when the speculation in land was at its height. Some profound lawyer, on examination of the titles, then found out that the Company had no title whatever to these two pieces of land, which had already become valuable.

“In the latter part of 1832, Benjamin Melvin, the son, applied to me to bring a suit for a fourteenth part of the eighteen acre lot. I endeavored to dissuade him from so doing, and told him he had no title, legal or equitable, to any of this land. He thought otherwise, and applied to Samuel H. Mann, Esq., who brought six

suits in the names of the several Melvin heirs. I was then employed by the Company. The first of these suits was tried October term, 1833, before Wilde, J., and the Jury found for Melvin. The case was carried before the whole Court, and argued October term 1834. The court set aside the verdict; Morton, J., giving the opinion of the Court. The case went to a jury November following. This jury disagreed—ten for the Company and two for Melvin. This trial was before Putnam, J. This case was continued to April term, 1835, and tried before Morton, J. This verdict was for the Company. Melvin then carried the case before the whole Court. It was argued October term, 1835, and at April term, 1836. Shaw, C. J., gave the opinion of the whole Court, rendering judgment on the verdict against Melvin. The Kittredge suit was disposed of at the same time, in the same way. (See Pick. Rep., Vol. 16, page 137.) (Vol. 17, page 246 and 255.) The other five suits were continued to October term, 1836, when they were dismissed without costs to either party. Thus the title to the eighteen acre lot was forever put to rest. This lot lies above the Stone House, extending from Merrimack River across the road to School Street.

“But the eight acre lot was of far more value, and gave rise to a longer controversy. Encouraged by his success in the first suit, Melvin brought another suit to recover an undivided fourteenth part of this lot, which is partly on Dutton Street, extending over and including about forty rods of the Western Canal. This case was tried at the April term, 1834, before Putnam, J., and after four days’ trial, a verdict was found for Melvin. The Company took exceptions, and the case was carried before the whole Court, and argued in February, 1835. The Court set aside the verdict as against law; Wilde,

J. giving the opinion of the Court. (See 16 Vol., Pick. Rep., p. 161.) Melvin became nonsuit, and the Company recovered \$341.90 cost on this suit alone. Encouraged by the verdict on the above suit, the other heirs brought five other suits, which were also nonsuited, and the costs paid by the Melvins. Twelve suits were thus disposed of.

“The Melvins not finding it a very profitable business to multiply suits, now joined together in the great and final remedy of a writ of right to recover their lost inheritance. This suit came on for trial in October, 1836, when we went prepared with about thirty or forty witnesses to have a final trial. I was perfectly certain of prevailing in this suit on three points of law. But as we were just proceeding to trial, a certain lawyer whom I had formerly driven out of the case, had been figuring with one of the Melvins and had got a release, and insisted upon having the case dismissed without having any trial. This I protested against, but finally yielded, by the overpersuasion of the other counsel, upon the understanding that here should be an end of the controversy. Thus there was nothing sealed on this writ of right, a judgment in which would have been a final and eternal bar to all future writs. So in the Fall of 1839, both parties were entirely out of Court. In the Spring of 1837, Kirk Boott, Esq., by whom I had been employed, and who had entrusted this whole business with me, died, and I had nothing to do with any of the Company's business for three years.

“In August, 1839, Melvin and his counsel got new light upon the subject. They had hitherto claimed only one-half the land, they now claimed the whole. The Melvin heirs and most of the Kittredge heirs conveyed all their *titles* to Benjamin Melvin alone and he brought

a suit for the whole. This suit was tried at the October term, 1840 before Judge Dewey, and the jury found that Melvin and wife's deed of 1782, did not cover the demanded premises, which was another false verdict. We then carried the case before the whole Court, and it was decided in October, 1842, Judge Wilde delivering the opinion of the Court, that if the Melvins ever had any title, they were barred by lapse of time. (See 5 Mete., Rep. 15.) Here was a final settlement of the matter in the State Court. But the judgments were all upon non-suits, and nothing was finally settled that could be pleaded in bar of a suit in the United States Court. And it turned out that Melvin before this last trial had conveyed all his interest (?) in the suit to Jonathan M. Reed, of Michigan, and after the final decision in the State Court, Reed brought a suit in the United States Circuit Court in 1843. This was tried at Boston before Judge Woodbury in 1845. And after four days' trial a true verdict was rendered for the Company. Reed then brought a writ of error in the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was entered December 7, 1846, and continued to the present term, and was argued on the 2d, 3d and 4th of January, 1849, by General Jones and Grenville Parker for the plaintiff in error, and by Mr. Webster and myself for the defendants.

“On the 24th of January 1849, the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court.

“Thus after a controversy of more than seventeen years, in which from \$30,000 to \$40,000 have been expended, these Melvin suits were ultimately settled.”

*XV. Merrimack River, its Sources, Affluents, etc.,
Prepared by Alfred Gilman.*

The east branch of the Pemigewasset has its rise in the Willey Mountain, six thousand feet above the ocean, in a pond near the summit of that mountain. Its waters escape in a southerly direction, then turning to the west, the waters of the Ethan Crawford Pond unite with it. Its course is through an unbroken wilderness for forty miles. The accessions it receives from the mountain ranges on either side soon swell its proportions from a brook to a river. Six miles from where the waters of the two ponds unite, a large brook flows in from the right; ten miles further down is the grand fall, said to be well worth a trip to see. Just below another tributary comes in, and still farther down the Hancock River unites with the Pemigewasset. The middle branch has its source in the Profile Lake, north of the Franconia Notch. The west branch takes its rise in the Moosilauke Mountains.

These three branches unite at Woodstock, N. H., from which place large quantities of lumber have been floated to Lowell. Moosilauke and Hill Brooks come in below Woodstock. On Hill Brook is a remarkable fall; thirty feet before reaching the main fall, the descent is one foot in four. The main fall is forty-two feet. Mad River and two other small rivers fall into the Pemigewasset from the east near Campton. In the town of Holderness are situated Great and Little Squam Lakes, which discharge their waters through Squam River into

the Pemigewasset immediately below Bridgewater Falls. The manufacturing corporations on the Merrimack have secured the right to draw from the two lakes when the Merrimack is low. At Plymouth the Pemigewasset receives the waters of Baker's River from the west. Baker's River rises in the Moosilauke Range and is supplied from Stinson's River, the outlet of a pond by that name. Newfound Lake, in the town of Bridgewater, here discharges its waters through Newfound River, from the west, into the Pemigewasset. Newfound River is but two miles long, and is one continuous rapid. The fall in that distance is two hundred feet. The water in its lake is controlled as in Squam Lake. Smith's River comes in at Hill, and is that town's northern boundary. At Franklin the Pemigewasset and Winnepesaukee unite and form the Merrimack.

Lake Winnepesaukee, the source of the river of that name is something more than twenty miles in length, and is dotted over with a large number of islands, on some of them are excellent farms. This lake has no feeders of importance; Goose Pond, through its outlet, enters it at Meredith Village; Gunstock and Miles Rivers from Gilford; Merry-meeting River from Alton; and Smith's Pond, through its outlet, at Wolfboro'. The outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee is called the Weirs, from the fact that the Indians here dammed the river by a netting of bark and twigs, for fishing purposes.

The Weirs is the locality of the rock on which Major Simon Willard and Edward Johnson, in 1652, two hundred and twenty-six years ago, put this inscription :

E I	S W
W P	JOHN
ENDICVT	
GOV.	

The claim of Massachusetts extended to a point three miles north of the most extreme northerly point of the Merrimack River; to substantiate and establish this claim, she sent the above-named persons as Commissioners to perambulate and define her claim. At one time the rise of the water in the lake threatened to obliterate this inscription. The Lake Company took measures to preserve it. It is called the "Endicot Rock." A cast of it has been taken and placed by J. B. Francis, Esq., in the custody of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association.

Winnepesaukee River falls nearly two hundred and fifty feet, before uniting with the Pemigewasset, just below Webster's Falls in Franklin. Besides the lake, there are two large bodies of water, called bays. They form reservoirs from which Manchester, Lowell and Lawrence are supplied in a dry time. The Suncook River has its source in a pond on the summit of one of the Suncook mountains, and runs in a south-east course through Gilmanton into Barnstead, receiving there the waters of Half-moon and Brindle Ponds. Bear Brook enters the Suncook from the east, furnishing many mill sites. A short distance above the mouth of the Suncook, there is a fall ample for manufacturing purposes; on the Merrimack, just above the confluence of the Suncook, is Garvin's Falls, where the water falls perpendicularly twenty-eight feet. Contoocook River enters the Merrimack at Boscawen; its sources are on the height of land between the waters of the Connecticut and Merrimack in Rindge and Jaffrey, Cheshire County; its general direction is northeast, and it receives accessions from Warner and Blackwater Rivers in Hopkinton. Hillsboro' River unites with the Contoocook at Hillsboro', where many smaller streams swell its current. The Contoocook

is remarkable for its crooked course. Warner River, a tributary of the Contoocook River, rises in the Sunapee Mountains, and in its course receives the waters of Pleasant Pond.

The Merrimack River, from the foot of Webster's Falls at Franklin, to Garvin's Falls, four miles below Concord, is a broad, placid stream, with the exception of Sewall's Falls, near Concord. The Soucook River, which rises in Gilmanton, falls into the Merrimack from the east, at Concord. Turkey River, the outlet of Turkey Pond, enters the Merrimack from the west at Bow. Black Brook and Piscataquog River enter the Merrimack from the west near Manchester. At Amoskeag, the river falls perpendicularly fifty-four feet. Cobas River, the outlet of Massabesic Pond, enters the Merrimack from the east at Goffe's Falls in Bedford. The fall in this stream, from the pond to the river, is one hundred and twenty feet. Beaver River or Brook has its source in a pond of the same name in Londonderry, and falls into the Merrimack at Lowell below Pawtucket Falls. Bowman's Brook enters the Merrimack on the west at Bedford. Souhegan River, and its affluent, Baboosuck River, which flows through two ponds, enters the Merrimack from the west. It has its rise in several large ponds in Ashburnham, Worcester County, Massachusetts. The Nashua River has its source in the Wachusett Mountain in Massachusetts; and enters the Merrimack at Nashua; its fountain heads are numerous; it is supplied by the Still River one of its branches, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, and the Nisitissit at Hollis, N. H. Pennichuck and Salmon Brooks enter the Merrimack, the first above, and the latter below Nashua. The Salmon Brook has its rise in Groton, Mass.; the Pennichuck in a

pond of the same name. Black and Deep Brooks are tributaries of the Merrimack, Deep above and Black below North Chelmsford. Stony Brook unites with the Merrimack at North Chelmsford; it has its rise in Groton. Concord River unites with the Merrimack at Lowell. One of its branches rises in a pond in Westboro', the other in Hopkinton; its extreme length is about fifty miles. River Meadow, or Hale's Brook has its rise in Heart Pond in Carlisle, and enters the Concord at Lowell. The whole length of the Merrimack from its source to the mouth at Newburyport, is two hundred and sixty miles. The fall from Lake Winnepesaukee to Haverhill, at the head of tidewater, is four hundred and fifty-two feet.

In 1603 the French monarch, Henry of Navarre, granted to Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, a patent for the entire territory from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude. The next year, 1604, de Monts, accompanied by Samuel Champlain de Brouage, sailed from France, to take possession of the territory and landed on the island of St. Croix (Neutral Island) in Passamaquoddy Bay. Here they passed the winter. The next summer, 1605, having built a pinnace of fifteen tons, he resolved to seek a warmer climate, and, in company with Champlain, the chronicler of the voyage, Champdore, the master, and a crew of twenty sailors and soldiers, they skirted the coast of Maine. They were piloted by an Indian, Panonnias, who was accompanied by his newly-married squaw. On the 17th of July, 1605, he entered a bay (which he called Ipswitch), and discovered the mouth of the Merrimack. He named it Gua's River; but the Indian name being better known has been retained.

VARIOUS ORTHOGRAPHY FOR WINNEPISIOGEE AND
MERRIMACK.

From investigation, J. B. Francis, Esq., gives twenty variations in the manner of spelling the name of our noble river Merrimack, which are given below. He says Monomack means *sturgeon*; that the first mill erected by the Merrimack Company was surmounted by the figure of that fish for a vane. He protests against the practice of discarding the *k* in writing the word, as King Charles sanctioned the use of that letter in making the original grant.

Winipasekek.	Winnepesocket.	Winnipesockee.
Winipasioke.	Winnepesseokeege.	Winnepicioket.
Winnapuscahit.	Winnepisseogee.*	Winnipissaukee.*
Winnapusseakit.	Winnipaseket.	Winnipisseogee.*

Malamake.	Merramack.	Merrimak.
Maremake.	Merramacke.	Merrimeck.
Meremack.	Merremacke.	Merrymacke.
Meremacke.	Merremeck.	Monnomacke.
Meremak.	Merrimac.*	Monomack.
Merimacke.	Merrimach.	Monumach.
Mermak.	Merrimack.*	

Aquedahtan (Weirs). — *Records of Massachusetts Bay, 1652.*
 Aquedocktau (Weirs). — *History of Concord.*

* Modern.

GREATEST HEIGHTS OF WATER ABOVE TOP OF PAWTUCKET DAM,
EXTRACTED FROM RECORDS KEPT AT THE GUARD GATES OF THE
NORTHERN CANAL.

Year.	Greatest Height in March, April and May.			Greatest Height in the other nine months.		
	Date.	Feet.	Inches.	Date.	Feet.	Inches.
1848	May 4.	4	11½	November 7.	4	6
1849	April 1.	5	10	November 11.	8	7½
1850	May 1.	8	8½	July 21.	4	9
1851	April 18.	4	1	November 1.	5	7
1852	April 22.	13	7	November 28.	5	0¼
1853	May 28.	6	4	February 8.	6	11
1854	May 2.	8	0	November 27.	5	5
1855	April 21.	7	0	October 4.	5	8
1856	April 10.	4	6½	August 8.	5	3
1857	April 16.	8	1	October 28.	6	3½
1858	April 26.	3	10	September 18.	5	8
1859	March 20.	10	3	June 19 and 23.	3	9
1860	March 4.	4	0	November 25.	5	1
1861	April 15.	6	11	November 5.	4	11
1862	April 20.	10	5	November 23.	4	0
1863	April 18.	9	0	November 19.	6	7
1864	March 8.	7	4	November 23.	3	8
1865	March 19.	10	6	November 5.	3	2
1866	April 26.	4	0½	November 18.	5	3½
1867	April 18.	6	0	August 18.	5	9
1868	May 25.	6	4	September 27.	4	11¾
1869	April 23.	7	6	October 6.	10	0
1870	April 21.	12	8¼	January 4.	6	11
1871	May 7.	5	5	November 17.	5	9
1872	April 12.	6	0	August 19.	4	9
1873	April 13.	5	5½	October 22.	6	3
1874	May 23.	5	0	January 10.	6	10
1875	April 6.	5	8	November 1.	4	2½
1876	March 30, and April 16 and 17. }	5	8	January 4.	3	8
1877	March 29.	7	8	November 11.	5	1
1878	May 1.	7	0	December 12.	10	8½
1879	May 2.	5	11			
1880	April 6.	4	7½			
1881	May 18.	4	9			

Copied from Records of Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Merrimack River,
Lowell, December, 1881.

CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. II. No. 3.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION.

JANUARY, 1883.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell.

ARTICLE II. — OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The objects of this Association shall be to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time publish any facts relating to the history of the City of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the City.

ARTICLE III. — OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected annually.

SECT. 2. There shall also be an Executive Committee, consisting of two from each Ward, whose duty it shall be to attend to the collection, arrangement and transmission to a Recording Secretary (who may be selected by the Committee), of all matters pertaining to the objects of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary to aid them in their duties. In this Committee is vested the power to fill all vacancies that may occur during the year, and to direct the Secretary to call special meetings. They shall also fix the compensation of the Recording Secretary.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Any person shall be eligible to membership who was a resident of Lowell at the time of the organization of the City Government (May 2, 1836), or prior to that date, or has resided in Lowell twenty-five years, and attained the age of forty-five years.

SECT. 2. It shall be necessary for the applicant for membership to sign the Constitution and pay to the Treasurer the sum of one dollar (\$1.00) annually.

ARTICLE V. — MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the Association for the election of officers shall be held in the first week in May, at such time and place as the President shall appoint, printed notices of which shall be given to members by the Secretary.*

ARTICLE VI. — HONORARY MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Non-residents of Lowell, or persons who formerly resided in the City, may be made Honorary Members by vote of the Executive Committee.

SECT. 2. Any person interested in the objects of the Association may be made a Corresponding Member by a vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII. — AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended at any meeting, previous notice of the same having been given by the Secretary in the call for such meeting.

* At the annual meeting, May 4, 1871, it was *voted* that the Association hold quarterly meetings each year, commencing in May.

OFFICERS.

JOHN O. GREEN, PRESIDENT.

JEFFERSON BANCROFT, VICE-PRESIDENT.

ALFRED GILMAN, SEC'Y AND TREAS.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WARD ONE.

J. W. SMITH,

CHARLES HOVEY.

WARD TWO.

JOSHUA MERRILL,

AMOS B. FRENCH.

WARD THREE.

HAPGOOD WRIGHT,

ALFRED GILMAN.

WARD FOUR.

EDWARD F. WATSON,

BENJAMIN WALKER.

WARD FIVE.

J. G. PEABODY, Chairman,

CHARLES MORRILL.

WARD SIX.

WILLIAM KITTREDGE,

EDWARD B. HOWE, Secretary.



LIST OF MEMBERS.

The figures in the first column indicate date of birth ; those in the second column, date of arrival in Lowell.

Abbott, Hermon.....	1811.....	1827
Adams, Smith.....	1809.....	1833
Ames, Jacob.....	1806.....	1833
Atkinson, J. V. (died 1874).....	1787.....	1824
Allen, Otis.....	1808.....	1828
Abbott, Ziba (died 1878).....	1800.....	1830
Ayer, James C. (died 1878).....	1819.....	1836
Adams, John (died 1881).....	1805.....	1821
Adams, Jonathan.....	1802.....	1823
Abbott, Josiah G. (honorary).....		
Bancroft, Jefferson.....	1803.....	1824
Bancroft, Selwin (died 1871).....	1805.....	1826
Battles, Charles F. (died 1870).....	1818.....	1832
Bedlow, Joseph.....	1795.....	1826
Bellows, S. M.....	1810.....	1830
Bennett, W. S.....	1814.....	1830
Bennett, Wilder.....	1813.....	1832
Brooks, A. L. (died 1878).....	1803.....	1832
Brabrook, J. A.....	1806.....	1832
Brown, William (died 1882).....	1799.....	1826
Brownell, George (died 1872).....	1793.....	1824
Bullens, J. M. (died 1878).....	1804.....	1829
Bowers, James (died 1873).....	1787.....	1787
Bailey, Manasseh (died 1872).....	1792.....	1827
Barnes, Henry H.....	1815.....	1829
Batchelder, Samuel, Cambridge (hon.), (died 1879).....	1785.....	1825
Bragdon, George.....	1800.....	1825
Butcher, John (died 1881).....	1803.....	1828
Buttrick, John A. (died 1879).....	1813.....	1839
Bradt, Garritt J. (died 1876).....	1810.....	1827
Brown, D. C.....	1814.....	1836
Brown, Leonard.....	1821.....	1842
Brown, Willard (died 1878).....	1794.....	1834
Brown, Willard A.....	1828.....	1834
Bullard, Otis.....	1809.....	1831

Barnard, B. F. (died 1881).....	1824.....	1843
Brown, Ephraim.....	1819.....	1845
Beck, Samuel.....	1821.....	1838
Brigham, Danforth P. (died 1875).....	1803.....	1829
Brown, William (died 1875).....	1802.....	1840
Butterfield, Ralph.....	1818.....	1818
Baron, George.....	1825.....	1826
Bartlett, D. B.....	1822.....	1846
Boyden, Erastus.....	1821.....	1846
Batchelder, Ashael G. (died 1878).....	1820.....	1845
Berry, Charles R.....	1819.....	1838
Billings, John.....	1808.....	1825
Battles, Frank F.....	1820.....	1832
Batchelder, John M. (honorary).....	1811.....	1825
Coburn, Franklin.....	1817.....	1817
Collins, David M.....	1816.....	1829
Cushing, Stephen (died 1861).....	1797.....	1823
Clark, Jeremiah.....	1819.....	1834
Chesley, John T. (died 1872).....	1817.....	1835
Currier, John (died 1881).....	1810.....	1830
Cushing, Daniel.....	1806.....	1835
Chase, John K. (died 1879).....	1813.....	1834
Clark, Dustin.....	1810.....	1827
Cook, James.....	1794.....	1830
Conant, Abel E.....	1829.....	1834
Clifford, Weare (died 1872).....	1816.....	1834
Clough, Nathan.....	1812.....	1832
Chambers, Cyrus (died 1875).....	1796.....	1796
Converse, Samuel (died 1882).....	1808.....	1826
Cooper, Isaac.....	1806.....	1835
Conant, Abel (died 1875).....	1784.....	1820
Crane, J. E. (died 1876).....	1821.....	1841
Currier, Jacob B.....	1829.....	1848
Crosby, Sylvester (died 1877).....	1804.....	1832
Chase, Warren E. (died 1882).....	1830.....	1830
Coburn, Charles B.....	1813.....	1813
Cowley, Charles.....	1832.....	1842
Caverly, Robert B.....	1806.....	1843
Crosby, Nathan.....	1798.....	1843
Carney, George J.....	1835.....	1835
Chase, Charles C.....	1818.....	1845
Chandler, George H.....	1825.....	1832
Cheney, C. J.....	1823.....	1843
Cook, David (honorary) (deceased).....
Cressey, Samuel G.....	1813.....	1835
Cumnock, A. G.....	1834.....	1848
Cushing, G. S.....	1825.....	1845
Dillingham, Artemas.....	1805.....	1829
Davis, Sidney.....	1815.....	1815

Davis, Elisha.....	1799.....	1799
Deming, Isaac.....	1805.....	1827
Davis, Elisha L. (died 1876).....	1810.....	1832
Deming, C. W. (died 1876).....	1839.....	1839
Edson, Theodore.....	1793.....	1824
Edwards, Jabez.....	1815.....	1834
Emery, Henry.....	1814.....	1845
Elliott, G. M.....	1839.....	1839
Eaton, Forrest.....	1802.....	1830
Fifield, Edward.....	1809.....	1832
Fellows, J. K.....	1809.....	1827
Farrington, Daniel (died 1879).....	1801.....	1822
Fay, Samuel (died 1880).....	1817.....	1833
Fiske, William.....	1806.....	1828
French, J. B. (died 1876).....	1799.....	1824
Freeman, S. J.....	1814.....	1833
Fiske, George W.....	1812.....	1833
Fitts, Isaac N.....	1808.....	1828
French, Thomas T.....	1814.....	1827
Fox, Jesse (died 1870).....	1786.....	1823
Fox, Gustavus V.....	1821.....	1823
Favor, Nathaniel B.....	1806.....	1829
Fernald, Mark (died 1873).....	1803.....	1840
Fletcher, Horatio.....	1796.....	1841
Francis, James B.....	1815.....	1834
Frye, Frederick.....	1824.....	1838
French, Amos B.....	1812.....	1824
French, Abram (died 1879).....	1803.....	1835
Fisher, Samuel S.....	1801.....	1824
Fielding, H. A.....	1828.....	1832
Fletcher, Warren (died 1881).....	1821.....	1837
Fletcher, William (died 1881).....	1791.....	1791
Fletcher, Edmund D.....	1824.....	1838
Furlong, John C.....	1837.....	1842
Gates, Josiah (died 1882).....	1805.....	1823
Green, John O.....	1799.....	1822
Graves, John W. (died 1873).....	1810.....	1826
Gray, William C.....	1808.....	1829
Greenleaf, D. G.....	1808.....	1829
Gove, David (died 1882).....	1802.....	1826
Gilman, Alfred.....	1812.....	1829
Green, Amos (died 1881).....	1799.....	1825
Goodale, William.....	1813.....	1840
Gage, James U.....	1824.....	1830
Goodspeed, Calvin.....	1806.....	1829
Gibby, Samuel J.....	1821.....	1831
Griffith, John.....	1814.....	1845
Gookin, Benjamin L.....	1820.....	1842

Howe, E. B.	1816.	1826
Hovey, Charles.	1817.	1832
Horn, Samuel.	1806.	1828
Hopkins, James.	1806.	1832
Hildreth, C. L.	1824.	1845
Hadley, Samuel P.	1831.	1831
Hatch, G. S.	1819.	1834
Hunt, E. S. (died 1880).	1815.	1833
Hulme, James (died 1871).	1813.	1833
Hodge, J. A.	1815.	1835
Hovey, William.	1802.	1834
Howe, Jeroboam.	1800.	1821
Hale, B. S.	1808.	1808
Hadley, John (died 1876).	1804.	1825
Hill, Benjamin C.	1820.	1834
Hapgood, Ephraim (died 1874).	1812.	1833
Holton, Frederick.	1815.	1840
Howes, Samuel P. (died 1881).	1809.	1838
Hobson, George (died 1878).	1826.	1833
Hedrick, George.	1809.	1831
Howe, James M.	1811.	1831
Howe, Lorenzo G. (died 1881).	1810.	1832
Hazeltine, G. W. (died 1879).	1810.	1841
Hancock, Levi (died 1879).	1814.	1837
Hovey, Cyrus.	1813.	1844
Howe, Augustus J.	1836.	1836
Holt, Joseph S.	1811.	1827
Hutchinson, Reuben M.	1807.	1825
Huse, Jesse.	1802.	1845
Hosmer, Stephen.	1808.	1832
Holden, Frederick A.	1812.	1812
Healey, Henry.	1817.	1828
Jewett, J. P. (died 1870).	1808.	1832
Jaques, John S.	1812.	1833
Kittredge, William.	1810.	1822
Knowles, J. A.	1800.	1827
Knapp, Daniel (died 1876).	1808.	1829
Kimball, John F.	1824.	1824
Kent, James (died 1876).	1800.	1835
Kimball, Gilman.	1805.	1830
Kittredge, Jeduthan (died 1875).	1800.	1840
Kimball, Durrell.	1810.	1831
Kittredge, Daniel (died 1880).	1806.	1833
Kidder, Samuel.	1821.	1843
Kittredge, Abner.	1807.	1831
Kidder, John (died 1878).	1805.	1823
Knapp, Chauncy L.	1809.	1843

Kimball, Charles W.....	1816.....	1852
Kershaw, Abraham.....	1804.....	1848
Lawson, Peter (died 1881).....	1813.....	1827
Lesure, A. P.....	1812.....	1831
Lawson, Thomas B.....	1807.....	1842
Lawrence, Samuel.....	1823.....	1841
Lawrence, Samuel, Stockbridge (honorary) deceased.....
Libbey, Isaac M.....	1808.....	1835
Lord, Henry A.....	1822.....	1845
Latham, Cyrus.....	1824.....	1838
Lawton, George F.....	1845.....	1845
Merrill, Joshua.....	1802.....	1827
Mathews, Abraham, (died 1881).....	1804.....	1829
Morrill, Charles.....	1818.....	1823
McAlvin, J. B. (died 1880).....	1800.....	1834
McEvoy, Hugh.....	1808.....	1828
McArthur, William.....	1825.....	1829
Moar, Stephen (died 1876).....	1810.....	1831
Manahan, Samuel T.....	1805.....	1845
Morrison, J. G.....	1822.....	1840
Munroe, Charles.....	1800.....	1845
Mack, Sewall G.....	1813.....	1840
Moore, J. N.....	1820.....	1842
Morrill, N. W.....	1821.....	1839
Marshall, Bradley.....	1817.....	1836
Mitchell, Daniel F. (died 1877).....	1823.....	1845
Morse, W. W.....	1819.....	1834
Motley, George.....	1808.....	1827
McFarlin, Luke.....	1810.....	1810
Manahan, Mark.....	1809.....	1832
McKissoek, Robert.....	1818.....	1852
Mallard, Albert.....	1807.....	1833
McEvoy, John F.....	1834.....	1841
Manahan, John F.....	1821.....	1837
Nichols, C. C.....	1809.....	1829
Nichols, William.....	1818.....	1828
Nesmith, Thomas (died 1870).....	1788.....	1833
Nowell, Foster.....	1814.....	1833
Nichols, Alanson (died 1874).....	1815.....	1836
Nash, James W.....	1823.....	1848
Nute, Andrew T.....	1805.....	1832
Nichols, Jacob.....	1814.....	1832
Nichols, Gilman N.....	1803.....	1829
Norris, G. W.....	1819.....	1837
Noyes Benjamin A.....	1814.....	1833
Orange, H. S.....	1815.....	1834
Ordway, H. M.....	1825.....	1825

Pillsbury, Harlin (died 1877).....	1797.....	1827
Pearl, F. F.....	1812.....	1833
Place, Isaac (died 1872).....	1810.....	1834
Patch, E. B.....	1806.....	1831
Peabody, J. G.....	1808.....	1824
Parkhurst, Matthias (died 1877).....	1795.....	1823
Parmenter, Horace.....	1808.....	1832
Perkins, M. G.....	1819.....	1836
Page, Jonathan.....	1809.....	1823
Pratt, Thomas.....	1805.....	1832
Peabody, James M. (died 1873).....	1818.....	1832
Philbrick, Caleb.....	1825.....	1825
Patten, Joseph A.....	1818.....	1840
Puffer, J. F.....	1828.....	1828
Prince, Robert.....	1810.....	1827
Prince, Edward.....	1818.....	1827
Paul, Thomas (died 1876).....	1821.....	1827
Parks, George (died 1878).....	1813.....	1834
Powers, Joel (died 1879).....	1803.....	1842
Pearson, George W.....	1825.....	1825
Piper, Isaac B.....	1814.....	1832
Patterson, George W.....	1815.....	1834
Read, E. M. (died 1878).....	1800.....	1828
Richardson, E. G.....	1809.....	1830
Russell, J. S.....	1807.....	1835
Roby, A. B. (died 1879).....	1809.....	1830
Roper, George W. (died 1877).....	1813.....	1830
Richardson, Daniel L. (died 1875).....	1809.....	1828
Richardson, O. A.....	1809.....	1832
Richardson, Luther.....	1811.....	1835
Rand, James H.....	1813.....	1830
Raynes, Joseph (died 1879).....	1814.....	1831
Rand, Enoch S.....	1818.....	1835
Read, Henry (died 1878).....	1804.....	1834
Rugg, S. S. (died 1880).....	1807.....	1832
Rice, Jonathan (died 1876).....	1818.....	1839
Richards, John.....	1808.....	1835
Russell, C. K.....	1815.....	1829
Simonds, S. B.....	1806.....	1831
Sherman, E. F. (died 1872).....	1821.....	1824
Spalding, Joel.....	1820.....	1820
Sawtell, J. A.....	1823.....	1830
Smith, J. W.....	1816.....	1835
Stevens, Levi B.....	1815.....	1833
Stearns, Erastus (died 1881).....	1807.....	1830
Spalding, Weld.....	1798.....	1822
Sprague, Levi.....	1810.....	1827

Staples, Nathaniel T.....	1815.....	1835
Stevens, Solon (died 1878).....	1801.....	1825
Sanborn, Page.....	1798.....	1836
Snell, Orlando.....	1825.....	1847
Stone, Zina E.....	1824.....	1842
Short, Josiah E.....	1809.....	1827
Streeter, Holland.....	1811.....	1832
Smith, William M. (died 1881).....	1803.....	1836
Sargent, E. M.....	1820.....	1833
Stanley, George W. (died 1878).....	1811.....	1832
Shattuck, Horace B.....	1825.....	1826
Swan, Albert G.....	1826.....	1826
Stacy, Lucien P.....	1821.....	1844
Sheldon, Abiel W.....	1820.....	1838
Spofford, Frederic A.....	1818.....	1845
Savory, C. A.....	1813.....	1849
Shattuck, George W.....	1822.....	1825
Scadding, Aaron.....	1804.....	1829
Stott, Charles (died 1881).....	1799.....	1835
Southwick, John R.....	1818.....	1839
Sanborn, E. A.....	1820.....	1846
Scott, James.....	1817.....	1841
Smith, John (died 1877).....	1805.....	1831
Smiley, John.....	1811.....	1833
Swett, John.....	1801.....	1820
Tower, James.....	1796.....	1826
Tufts, Edward (died 1875).....	1806.....	1828
Tuck, Edward.....	1806.....	1828
Tyler, Silas (died 1875).....	1793.....	1793
Tyler, Jonathan (died 1877).....	1790.....	1790
Tyler, Artemas S.....	1824.....	1824
Tripp, John.....	1807.....	1825
Trueworthy, James B.....	1828.....	1848
Thompson, J. P.....	1830.....	1848
Trask, James T.....	1823.....	1843
Tyler, Rinaldo H.....	1830.....	1836
Tapley, J. W.....	1824.....	1828
Varnum, Atkinson C.....	1828.....	1828
Vinal, G. A. W.....	1833.....	1843
Wilkins, George.....	1818.....	1839
Winslow, George.....	1804.....	1829
Wright, Hapgood.....	1811.....	1828
Webster, William P. (died 1877).....	1818.....	1823
Wagh, John (died 1872).....	1795.....	1822
Watson, E. F.....	1807.....	1832
Whittier, Moses.....	1795.....	1829

Whithed, Darius (died 1877).....	1809.....	1831
Welch, W. C.....	1824.....	1830
Webber, J. P. (died 1875).....	1801.....	1828
Walker, Benjamin.....	1822.....	1826
Wheeler, Albert (died 1876).....	1813.....	1823
Wood, Samuel (died 1874).....	1786.....	1823
Williams, S. M.....	1794.....	1824
Watson, James.....	1818.....	1835
Wood, Samuel N.....	1821.....	1822
Wood, William.....	1819.....	1819
Whipple, Oliver M. (died 1872).....	1794.....	1818
Washburn, J. M. (died 1875).....	1812.....	1829
Winn, Parker (died 1877).....	1800.....	1824
Wright, A. C. (died 1879).....	1819.....	1833
Welch, Charles A. (died 1880).....	1824.....	1834
Worthen, George W.....	1815.....	1833
Worcester, Leonard.....	1813.....	1846
Wood, Robert.....	1820.....	1842
Wiggin, Andrew J.....	1815.....	1836
Wood, Charles.....	1817.....	1836
Wright, Nathan M.....	1815.....	1831
Wilder, Charles H. (died 1879).....	1805.....	1832
Ward, S. L.....	1826.....	1843
Webster, George.....	1810.....	1825
Wright, John F.....	1818.....	1831
Wilson, Edwin T.....	1812.....	1826
Watson, Shepard.....	1815.....	1831
Willoughby, B. L. (died 1881).....	1807.....	1841
Wing, True (died 1878).....	1816.....	1841
Wallace, D. R.....	1823.....	1847
Wood, Horatio.....	1807.....	1844

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Yours very truly
H. C. Cook

*XVI. John Clark, by John W. Smith. Read
February 9, 1882.*

ASSOCIATED with the early history of Lowell were men of eminence and distinction, but there were none who took more interest in its welfare and prosperity than John Clark, Esq.

Mr. Clark was born at Waltham, Mass., March 14, 1796. He graduated with honors at Harvard College in the year 1816. Afterwards he taught school at Salem, Mass., for several years. While there he married an accomplished and amiable young lady, Priscilla S., youngest daughter of Mr. Jonathan Hodges. During their residence of fourteen years in Lowell, Mrs. Clark won a large circle of acquaintances and friends, some of whom are still living and will be glad to know that their old friend is enjoying a fair degree of health in her native city—Salem. Her memory is cherished, and she still lives in the high esteem of those whose wants in times of bereavement and distress were relieved by her affectionate ministrations and liberality.

Subsequently Mr. Clark engaged in mercantile business in Boston, and for several years was an active member of the firm of Kimball & Clark.

Having been engaged by Kirk Boott, Esq., he came to Lowell in the Fall of 1833, to accept the Superintendency of the Merrimack Company's mills, a place made vacant by the death of Mr. Warren Colburn

a very superior mechanic, mathematician, and scientist. Mr. Clark at once entered upon his new duties with zeal and earnestness, and soon became a very successful Superintendent. He not only looked after the interests of his Company with care and fidelity, but constantly manifested much interest in the welfare of the people under his charge. He was a gentleman of high-toned, moral character, superior judgment, and was well qualified to become an efficient and safe leader in the society of a young and rapidly growing town.

The first City Government of 1836 was composed of gentlemen of culture and marked practical ability, with Dr. Elisha Bartlett for Mayor, to preside over a Board of six Aldermen, and Mr. Clark as President of the Common Council. Our aged and respected citizens, Hon. James Cook and Mr. Weld Spalding, are the only persons of that government of thirty-one members now living.

In 1839 Mr. Clark was elected to the Board of Aldermen, and there served the city with his usual fidelity and ability. Again in 1844 he was elected a member of the government, as Councilman, for the specific purpose of aiding in founding a City School Library, now known as our City Library. In this scheme he was successful. The library now has about 27,000 volumes, and is in a flourishing condition. It is highly prized by the thousands who avail themselves of its privileges. The Board of Aldermen and Common Council could confer no more worthy tribute to his memory than to place in the library a handsome oil painting of Mr. Clark, appropriately inscribed.

The Ministry-at-Large was started in Lowell in 1844, its object being to provide free religious and secular instruction, and a medium through which the charities of the benevolent could be worthily bestowed among

the unfortunate and poor. This institution had the sympathy and aid of Mr. Clark from the beginning. He presented the subject of its permanent support at a meeting of the Agents of the Manufacturing Companies here, and in due time obtained an annual appropriation of \$800, which sum has since been increased. In addition to this, he offered the officiating minister and teacher twenty dollars per month, as a personal assessment, if needed. Our much respected citizen, Rev. Horatio Wood, who acted as secular and spiritual teacher in the Free Chapel for twenty-four years, refers in glowing terms of gratitude to Mr. Clark, James G. Carney, Dr. John C. Dalton, and others who rendered him much valuable aid in his work. May the benevolent of the present and future generations imitate their noble examples and perpetuate this valuable institution.

It was to persevering industry, to moral, religious, and educational influences that he looked for the future welfare of his newly adopted home. When a new register of the help in his mills was made, and one room of seventy girls gave thirteen of that number as having been teachers in public schools, with pride and gratification he communicated the fact to Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the State Board of Education. He was much interested in the progress and prosperity of our schools. Middlesex Mechanics' Association shared his aid and influence. He served that institution as Treasurer for several years; was much interested in efforts to enlarge its number of members, thus to extend the privileges of the Association; to improve its library and reading-room; to establish and fulfil the objects of the organization, by public lectures in its hall and classes for scientific instruction for its members in the school-room.

A valuable library at the Unitarian Church, of which Mr. Clark was an active and esteemed member was largely increased and improved in the years 1836 and '37 by his untiring personal effort in soliciting aid from others and by liberal personal donations.

Great and good men live in their works. Mr. Clark not only advocated morals, virtuous examples, and religious obligations, but he practiced the right. Previous to his coming to Lowell, when engaged in mercantile business during the perilous times of President Andrew Jackson's war upon the United States Bank, there was great depression of trade and there were many failures throughout the country. Mr. Clark and his partner suffered, and were much embarrassed, but greatly to his credit, during his residence in Lowell he paid every dollar due on his part, and even much more than was legally expected of him by his creditors.

Few men have ever been more highly esteemed in Lowell by all classes. When he retired from the Superintendence of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, in the year 1847, to accept the Treasurership of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company, the overseers under his charge unitedly presented him a very beautiful silver pitcher which cost \$185, having the following inscription: "Presented to John Clark, Esq., late Superintendent of the Merrimack Mills, as a token of respect and esteem, by the overseers." Signed by Stephen Cushing, Robert Wragg, Jabez Edwards, J. S. Gordon, William French, Walter Wright, David E. Chase, George Savory, E. M. Titcomb, John L. Cheney, John W. Holland, Stephen Moar, William Conihe, B. O. Page, James Hanaford, David M. Collins, George Wellman, John W. Smith, James C. Crombie, E. H. Hadley, Arnold Welch, James Townsend, John Richards, D. P. Brigham, James

Watson, Stephen T. Stanley, Alfred S. Saunders, William B. Brown, J. B. Wheeler, William Williams, Willard C. Welch, George Nickless, Marcus A. Thomas, Aarøn B. Young, and John L. Ordway. The pitcher was got up by Messrs. Jones, Ball & Poor, of Boston. On one side of it was engraven a view of the Merrimack Mills, and on the other a picker and a loom. A long letter accompanied the present, and an equally long one was received from Mr. Clark, of which a closing sentence is as follows: "In taking leave of those with whom I have been so long and so pleasantly associated, it is, I assure you, a source of unmingled gratification to me to find that I leave behind me none but friends."

Mr. Clark's magnanimity was too large for him to be content not to reciprocate with something more tangible than words, and in due time he presented each overseer with a valuable set of the late Dr. William E. Channing's works, in six volumes.

At the time he left Lowell he was about completing the extension of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company's works, having built a large mill with 25,000 spindles and other buildings in the mill yard, for the purpose of increasing the production of the works, besides building one of the finest boarding-house blocks, with eighteen tenements, then known in the country. The total spindles of the mills had been increased in the fourteen years of his administration from about 31,000 to 41,600, and in the year 1848, when the new mill was started, there were 66,600. The total number of spindles in the works to-day is 153,552.

In the midst of his usefulness in business circles and in his devotion to the interests of humanity in its various wants about him, with the strong ties of a pleasant home, made happy by his presence, and surrounded

by circles of friends rich in mental culture and business sagacity, he was suddenly cut off from all of earth's endearments, January 28, 1851, aged 54 years. On the Sunday following his interment, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, his pastor, preached an eloquent discourse on the exemplary and estimable Christian character of his brother and friend. He appropriately said: "Our friend was benevolent in the Christian sense, actively useful from a principle of benevolence; but, that something was to be subjoined to complete the description of him, and that which is to be adduced—I beg you to remark—is the essential thing. Without it, though he had been all I have yet said of him, I could not speak with so much confidence as you have heard me, in respect to the condition into which he has passed. The essential thing—you scarcely need be told what that is—yet in naming it I utter a word which every Christian loves to repeat even as he loves to cherish the thing itself—Religion. That was the central principle in him. All his other excellent qualities were held in their places and balanced by it as the planets are by the sun. That gave energy, scope, direction, effect, to his benevolence, made his usefulness voluntary instead of necessary, as men's often is, but put a divine stamp instead of this world's upon his labors. Yes, I say again, that it may be remembered by you, religion was central in him. It was that which made sunshine around him wherever he was. As the rays of the sun falling upon the jets of a fountain give to them the brilliant and variegated coloring we often observe, so religion threw its beams over the gushing waters of his affections, over all his friendly and social sentiments, over all the motives of his conduct, and caused the luminous beauty which we saw in them. It was the governing

principle in him. It was so in early life—it was so to the very last, and when his end was coming with such fearful suddenness, and he knew it, when he was speechless and suffering all signs showed that it was making him calm, resigned, peaceful as one reclining on the bosom of a friend. It is when I think of him on a Sunday like this—sitting down with us meekly and devoutly at the Table of Great Sacrifice, commemorating with humble thankfulness the death of him who died that we might live!—then he becomes associated in my mind with all that is truly great and good, with things that are ‘unseen’ and ‘eternal,’ with God who is over all, and with those whom God accepts as jewels for the crown of his Son. In this sublime association we are privileged by our faith to have him, while he leaves to us a manifold blessing in the example and memory of his life.”

Long will his name be revered by those who have felt the inspiring influences of his aid and advice in the business and moral relations of life. He lives in the hearts and memory of those who knew him best, to be beloved and respected as one who ever sought the best good of humanity and practiced those divine and ennobling principles which have commanded the respect, admiration and esteem of the good in all ages.

APPENDIX.

Since the above was written the writer has received a valuable genealogy of the Clark family in this country from Mrs. Lydia Hobart, of Waltham, sister of Mr. John Clark, who was son of John Clark, of Waltham, and was the sixth to bear the name of John, being the second born of nine children of the seventh generation, descendants of Hugh Clark, of whom little is known except

that he was born, according to his testimony, about the year 1613. There is no record of his place of nativity, or the time of his emigrating to this country. The first mention of him occurs in the town records of Watertown, at the time of the birth of his oldest son, John, in 1641. His wife's name was Elizabeth. He lived in Watertown about twenty years. In legal documents he was called a "husbandman." There is no evidence that he held important offices, although his admission as a freeman, May 30, 1660, and to the artillery company, 1666; prove him to have held reputable position. He removed to Roxbury, and remained in that town or vicinity until his death, which occurred July 20, 1693. His wife died December 11, 1692. The descendents of Hugh Clark, of which we find records as compiled by Mr. John Clark, A. B., of Boston, and printed in 1866, were quite numerous. Births from the year 1641 to July 30, 1810, were five hundred and sixty-nine. Among the members of these large families living in important and historic periods of our country, we find records of several bright and shining lights in literary circles. Conspicuous among the clergymen of New England we find the Rev. Peter Clark, of the fourth generation—a very eminent divine. He settled in Salem village, over the First Church of that place, in 1717. He died there much lamented, June 10, 1768. He became widely celebrated, and was regarded as one of the most learned theologians of New England. The Boston Chronicle of June 20, 1768, says of him: "To draw a complete portrait of so eminent a divine, so accomplished a Christian, as Mr. Clark was, is not easy. The strength of whose intellectual capacities, the extent of whose knowledge and his attainments in the divine life are better conceived of by those who have had the

happiness of an intimate acquaintance with him, than easily expressed."

Of the sixth generation we find another very able divine and patriot, Rev. Jonas Clark, who was ordained and installed at Lexington, Mass., November 5, 1755. He was distinguished for his zeal and fidelity as a preacher; he carried on a farm of considerable size, and was unceasing in his devotion to his flock as a pastor. Living at a time of the dangers and difficulties of the Revolution, his tongue and pen were ever ready in support of his country's cause. At his house John Hancock, Samuel Adams and their friends found a safe retreat to form plans for the salvation of their country. This divine and patriot was beloved for his many virtues, was venerated as a wise counsellor and trusted friend. He died in Lexington, November 15, 1805.

In reviewing sketches of the many descendents of Hugh Clark, we find many men of marked ability and integrity; the family is largely represented in Princeton and Hubbardstown, Mass., in Maine and New Hampshire. John Clark, of whose life and character we have given a brief sketch, was the son of John and Lydia Sanderson Clark, of Waltham, Mass. Mr. Clark was a farmer. He was distinguished for his integrity and devotion to the interests of his town, was one of its selectmen for thirteen years, filled other offices of honor and trust, for a long time was employed in the settlement of estates, etc. He was for many years a devout worshipper at the First Church; the last fifteen years of his life he was connected with the Society of the New Jerusalem. He died May 10, 1850. The New Jerusalem Magazine has an obituary of Mrs. Lydia Clark, his wife, who died April 2, 1862, at Waltham, where she was born January 8, 1769. The sketch of her life presents a kind mother of marked

devotion as a Christian, and a representative of those noble traits of character, which imparted elevating influences in life, and to their posterity those noble traits of character which it has been my pleasure to record of her son John, who was the second born of her nine children, and of whom the Salem Gazette said at the time of his death: "Salem will long mourn the loss of a most enlightened, upright, disinterested, and public-spirited citizen, whose hand and heart were ready for every good work; and whose sound judgment, lofty integrity, and warm benevolence, made him a wise counsellor and efficient guide in all useful and charitable undertakings."

With the flight of time, since the above manuscript was written, Mrs. Clark has been borne on wings of faith and hope, to meet the central object of her love and devotion when living.

She was born November 4, 1799, in Salem, Mass.; died October 12, 1882, in Salem.



XVII. A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Ordway, by James K. Fellows. Read May 3, 1882.

AMONG the early residents of Lowell, who have gone to their rest, no name can be held in more pleasant remembrance than that of Thomas Ordway.

Born in Amesbury, in 1787 — his father being the principal village physician for a generation or more — he there passed his youthful days attending the village schools and the academy that should fit him for the future pursuits of life. While making rapid progress in his studies, the academy building was destroyed by fire. He then for some time recited to a gentleman of liberal education, under whose tuition the avenues of learning were thoroughly opened up to him.

He commenced business in Newburyport in 1809. In 1810 occurred the great fire which destroyed Mr. Ordway's store, with the whole stock, and created such a stagnation that business could not be profitably carried on. This, together with the prospect of war, caused a check on all enterprises, and it was hazardous to embark upon any undertaking. Without means, he still further pursued his studies that he might thoroughly qualify himself for a teacher.

He married, January 1, 1811, Jerusha, daughter of Jacob B. Currier, of Amesbury. Mr. Currier was in the Revolutionary War, participating in the Bunker

Hill conflict, and was present with Mr. Ordway at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument, in 1825. Mrs. Ordway was a native of Amesbury, Mass., and came to Lowell with her husband, in 1826. She was therefore one of the oldest matrons of our city. She was the mother of ten children, seven of whom still survive. She possessed, among other sterling qualities, a cheerful, charitable disposition, which assisted her to successfully encounter the adversities of life and to endear herself to her family and a large circle of relatives and friends who sincerely mourned her departure. She was 68 years of age on the day of her death, surviving her husband just two years and a-half to a day.

In the spring he sailed from Newburyport for Alexandria, Va., hoping to find employment of some kind; but while passing Mt. Vernon there came on board a gentleman who told those on the vessel that an embargo had been laid, preparatory to a declaration of war. He was consequently obliged to relinquish the hope of mercantile employment, but was fortunate enough to obtain a school near Georgetown, where he continued nearly a year. In 1842 the writer visited Washington, and at the suggestion of Mr. Ordway, went over to Georgetown to learn of the family that he boarded with while teaching there. An old lady was found, who pointed at the house, but said the family had been away for many years, and that none of them were alive, so far as she knew. Mr. Ordway had been so kindly entertained at this house that a sadness seemed to come over him, on hearing my report.

Mr. Ordway from Georgetown went to Philadelphia, seeking employment, but for several days was unsuccessful. Here occurred a striking instance of his unyielding integrity of character.

He writes : "Inquiring at an intelligence office, the person in charge hinted to me a plan of business which he said would be made profitable if I had a mind to be concerned with him. He wished me to call in the morning, and he would give me further information. Not conceiving it to be strictly honest, I shall not accept the offer. I find it easy to get rich if we part with good principles; but I prefer a clear conscience to all the luxury that wealth can afford."

From Philadelphia he proceeded to New York, where he taught school a short time; but not receiving sufficient encouragement to continue, he turned his steps homeward; and after endeavoring in vain to obtain a school at Raynham, he took the stage, and reached Amesbury with the fruit of his year's toil reduced to the sum of three dollars.

In 1815 he sold goods in Boston for the Dedham Cotton Factory. In 1821 he opened a store in Concord, N. H., where for three or four years business was good; but at the end of the fourth year, the prospect was so decidedly bad that he removed to Dorchester and thence to Lowell, where he commenced business at the Falls, in the building now used in part as the Horse Railroad station. Afterwards he removed to the brick block at the corner of Merrimack and Worthen Streets. Here he kept dry goods, crockery ware, groceries, and the general assortment usually found in a country store, including liquors. For a short time business was very prosperous, but he became convinced that the sale of liquor was wrong, and he could not conscientiously make it an article of traffic. He therefore discontinued the sale, whereby he lost a large number of his customers, who were in the habit of buying intoxicating drinks with their groceries.

His business soon becoming unprofitable he — the first martyr here in the cause of temperance — closed up his affairs and started for the West, hoping in some of the growing towns to find an opening. But after remaining a few months in Rochester and Lansingburgh, N. Y., without success, he decided to return to Lowell. Here he remained, with the exception of a year spent in Portsmouth, until 1837, when he discontinued business. In 1838 he was chosen City Clerk, and held that office nearly twenty years, as City Clerk and Registrar, being the second City Clerk, Samuel A. Coburn having been City Clerk two years, and Town Clerk from the organization of the town in 1826.

In conversation with a gentleman early engaged in banking in our city, he made the remark that Mr. Ordway was too conscientious to be successful in trade. He said that soon after Mr. Ordway commenced business here he had a certain brand of flour from his store, which suited him; and he concluded to take two barrels more. The price, I think, was \$6.50. After a month or two a bill was rendered, with other groceries, and the flour was put in at \$6 — \$12 for the two barrels. The gentleman, perhaps equally as conscientious, called Mr. Ordway's attention to the change, it being a dollar less than the price agreed upon. "Yes, yes," said Mr. Ordway, "that was what I was selling the flour for, but on going to Boston a few days after the sale, I found that flour had fallen fifty cents on a barrel, therefore I struck off the dollar on the two barrels."

Mr. Ordway died November 14, 1859, of a painful disease, which he bore with fortitude and Christian resignation.

It was his custom for many years to keep a common-place book of thoughts and reflections, and a diary

or memorandum of events. From 1812 to 1832 the record is complete. At the close of every year it was his practice to review in his journal the acts of his life through the past year, and make such reflections as were suggested by the occasion. He suffered so many disappointments and was so unsuccessful in his various undertakings that his diary throughout is tinged with a feeling of sadness, enlivened, however, occasionally, by the mention of visits from friends, or his journeys to his early home at Amesbury, which he seemed to dwell upon with the greatest satisfaction.

He had a deep sense of the importance of religion, and took great interest in the formation of the Unitarian Church in Lowell. He was one of the first members and a deacon nearly thirty years. He had the strictest reverence for the Sabbath, and seldom allowed his children to be absent from church, where no one was more constant in attendance than he.

One of his boys when quite young was employed by a conscientious and exacting financier for some time, at a low rate for his services and with no assurance of an advance, which caused him to give up the situation. His employer called on Mr. Ordway, hoping to get the boy to return to the work at the office, and during the interview Mr. Ordway said the boy must judge, or act for himself. The gentleman being quite earnest, remarked that he could not give him a recommendation for any other place, unless he resumed work with him, for a time, at least. The indorsement of this gentleman among business men was second to none; but Mr. Ordway replied, sharply, that he "hoped his boys were so trained that they would need no recommendation from any one." This ended the negotiation at once.

The serious tone of his thoughts is evinced by the following reflections, culled from his common-place book:

“We should ever recollect that the most important business of life is religion; and though it is our duty to be ever industrious in order to render our lives useful to others, yet while we are employed in our occupations in life, we should not forget that the duties of religion are the most important. A habit of blending these duties with all our concerns and of exercising the precepts of religion on every occasion, will prevent us from so often neglecting them. Our minds should ever be impressed with the thought of the shortness and uncertainty of life and the vanity of the world. These reflections should serve to repress every vain and anxious thought. We should endeavor to lead a virtuous, upright, humble and pious life, receiving with thankfulness and content the gifts of Providence, and every adverse event with humble resignation; ever mindful of all our duties, and that the reward of the Christian is not only peace in this life, but endless happiness hereafter.”

“A spirit of humility, gentleness and Christian charity will render its possessor truly amiable. Without religion all our hopes of happiness must prove delusive. Though we possess all the comforts and conveniences of life, we are ever subject to calamities under which nothing but religion can support us. With our minds at peace with themselves and all mankind, and with the prospect of eternal happiness before us, we cannot be unhappy in any situation.”

“Christianity does not require us to neglect the concerns of this world, or to relinquish the innocent enjoyment which it affords; but it teaches us to remember that this is not our home. The traveller may fully enjoy the conversation of his companions, and partake

of the pleasures which his journey affords, without forgetting the end of the journey."

Mr. Ordway being city clerk and registrar from 1838 to 1858, there must be many old residents—and those somewhat advanced—who well remember how much at ease one was made when getting a marriage certificate; his extreme modesty and politeness during the interesting ceremony; also the inspection of his peculiar hand-writing in the notices of "intended marriages," which were posted in the churches in those times. Previous to this was the custom of reading these notices in church, and his voice may have been heard in such duty. But little attention was paid to the recording of births and deaths of the city until he introduced a thorough system—now more than forty years since—and laws were enacted in regard to the records at his suggestion. He was also one of the first to advocate underground drainage, the advantage of which in a sanitary point of view was hardly thought of till about the time he was city clerk.

He took but little interest in political affairs, although very firm in his views—being a Whig. He was not ambitious for office. He was a member of our first City Council, in 1836. He declined various positions tendered him by political friends before serving as City Clerk, and although elected almost unanimously for twenty years, at one time one vote was in opposition, and he was so extremely sensitive that he really thought of resigning the office at once. A remark came to him at this time from a grumbler, that those "long in the city service were paupers," which irritated him exceedingly. During the many years he served the city his salary averaged about \$1,000, being \$700 the first year. And he not only supported quite a family, but laid by sufficient

to build a good house on Nesmith Street, with quite a reserve for the future, in addition to replenishing his library, which was quite extensive.

He was a constant reader of old and new books of worth, and was always in pursuit of the latest publications of certain authors, and such as were not early in the libraries. On his way to and from his business he would stop at the book-stores, where he was always a welcome visitor, and would stand at the counter perusing some new volume until aroused to the consciousness that his time was limited, when he would leave with the book under his arm, often late to dinner, but always on time at his office. No one who had not visited the Holy Land possessed more accurate information of its topography than he. Once, when describing the different varieties of scenery in various parts of that country to a lady, she could not believe he had not travelled through it, so correct was his description of different localities.

The following has kindly been handed me by our present City Clerk, Samuel A. McPhetres,* who has a sharp eye to system and order:

LOWELL, April 10, 1882.

James K. Fellows, Esq.:

DEAR SIR — You ask me to give you my general ideas of the records of the late Thomas Ordway as City Clerk, from my experience with them. Having for more than thirteen years held the position which he once honored and graced, I can heartily testify to his accuracy and preciseness, and the legibility of his writing; also to the care he took in compiling family sketches. I find by the records that Mr. Ordway was elected City Clerk April 2, 1838, (the municipal year then commencing on the first Monday in April,) and that he retired January 2, 1854, his services covering sixteen municipal years. In addition, he continued until January, 1858, as city registrar, so that for twenty years he had charge of the records

* Mr. McPhetres died at Claremont, N. H., September 29, 1882.

of births, marriages and deaths. Until 1843 there does not appear to be a full record of births, no law until that year requiring the facts to be collected. Previous to that date such births only were recorded as were reported to the office by parents, but the records in this respect are large, showing that effort was made to obtain the facts, and there appear many very interesting family sketches, valuable to those most interested. My predecessor in office, now city treasurer, speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Ordway's records, which he had charge of for over eleven years, and he says that Mr. Ordway appears to have been a careful, painstaking official and to have taken great delight in his work. Our joint experience covers nearly a quarter of a century, and we have tested the value of his records of vital statistics, in making hundreds of copies for the use of persons in claims for pensions, and other benefits arising from services in the late rebellion.

I had little acquaintance, personally, with Mr. Ordway, but I recollect that on two or three occasions when I called upon him for information his accomodating and pleasant manner, and he is often referred to by older citizens, who have business at the office, in terms of affectionate remembrance.

I can picture him in his place at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen. An exciting subject was under discussion and the members nearly equally divided in sentiment, were contending for the mastery. Bitter words were spoken and burning retorts made. The City Clerk alone of all present was calm and cool, ready to give facts when called upon, prepare papers, and suggest forms of proceeding, but not to advance opinions on the merits of the question, for he must make an impartial record of the proceedings, which he could not have done had he mingled in the contest. He was the historian whose story was to be precise to render it of value, for it was handed down to posterity, and important issues have turned upon its correctness. "What is the record?" was afterward asked, and it settled the matter. Trifling memorandums were too valuable to be cast aside, and were preserved in the archives of the city. Such a cool, careful, dispassionate man, I believe our second City Clerk to have been, for I have had occasion hundreds of times to refer to his records, and I recall no instance where I have looked in vain for a valuable paper, or heard it claimed that his record was in error.

Yours Respectfully,

S. A. McPHETRES.

All those, we think, connected with our City Government during Mr. Ordway's official duties, who still survive, will acquiesce in the picture drawn by Mr. McPhetres above; and none, probably, who knew him personally, or had business intercourse with him, will deem the sketch too highly colored.

It is seldom in the course of our experience that we find one possessing the amiable and pleasing traits of character which distinguish the subject of this paper. Struggling with adverse fortune, yet maintaining an incorruptible integrity, unassuming in manner; bearing ill-will towards none; strictly conscientious, and having the respect and esteem of all; here, indeed, was a man without guile.

*XVIII. The Newspaper Press of Lowell, by
Alfred Gilman. Read May 3, 1882.*

A RECENT writer (George Jacob Holyoake) says :
“If electricity be the source of life, the press of America may be compared to a vast machine for the production of intellectual electricity, which vibrates through the nation, quickening the life of the people.” He might justly have added that it is the safety-valve of the community. It restrains violence; exposes fraud and ignorance; inculcates obedience to the law; it is the arbiter amid diversity of minds and opinions; the instructor of youth and the delight of the aged; it is the bond of the Union and on it rests the future of our country.

The busy world around us is reflected in the columns of the newspaper, but how few of all the subscribers who regularly receive their newspapers preserve them. They are read, thrown aside and destroyed. Some great calamity, crime or misdemeanor; some remarkable revolution in politics, religion and science; some new development or discovery in the arts, may make an impression that lingers on the memory; but when called upon for details, we fail in satisfying the demands of historical accuracy.

I cannot but congratulate the Association on the possession of a volume containing portions of the first

numbers issued of the Chelmsford Phenix for 1825-'26; almost the whole of the numbers of the Chelmsford Journal for 1827 and portions of the Lowell Journal for 1828-'29. For this valuable contribution to the library of the Association we are indebted to Miss Elizabeth B. Livermore, who has uniformly manifested a most gratifying interest in our prosperity and success. I have also to record the donation of a file of Washington and Boston papers from 1793 to 1807, by the Misses Harriet and Louisa W. Bradley, daughters of the late Dr. Peleg Bradley. These evidences of the interest felt by the ladies of Lowell in the objects and aims of our Association, seem to me to call for some act of reciprocation on the part of the Association that shall entitle them to a participation either as active or honorary members.

Previous to 1818 printing paper was made by hand, one sheet at a time. In that year a machine was invented that made a continuous sheet of any required length. This materially reduced the cost. Fifty years since a printing press that could be made to print 300 sheets per hour, was considered a fast machine. A *token* or 240 sheets was a fair hour's work. The process of inking the types in 1828-'30, was a slow and tiresome work. It was done with two balls made of deer-skin or wash-leather, stuffed with hair or wool. The skin was fastened to the handle with tacks. The ink was taken up on a small flat shovel or trowel, daubed on one of the balls, and then the face of the balls were placed one over the other, and both made to revolve, thus distributing the ink equally on their surfaces. There was a peculiar knack in the performance which, if not thoroughly acquired, resulted in a smouched face. Before each impression, the form, as the body of type is called,

had to be gone over with these balls, one in each hand; until the whole face of the type was covered with ink. This labor was usually performed by the youngest apprentice, who was called the printer's devil. Composition rollers, made of glue and molasses run in a mold on a wooden frame, drove the balls from the printing office, lightening and simplifying the labor. To one accustomed to the use of balls there was music in timing and regulating their movement. After their use it was customary to wash them in a caustic, and scrape the face with a knife in order that they might not harden so as to be unfit for use.

“Necessity is the mother of invention.” Who at this day does not recognize the necessity of the improvements that have taken place within the last fifty years? Some call this a fast age. Is it any more so, when we consider its wants, than that of half a century ago? Can we dispense with the improvements in travel, transmission of intelligence, and in the perfection of machinery? Let us imagine, for one instant, that every thing but population had remained stationary for the last fifty years. Where would be our facilities for doing business? Who would go back to a flint and steel, to tallow candles, to slow coaches, to three mails a week between Lowell and Boston, and to a weekly newspaper?

I would like to linger over the improvements that have been made in the art of printing during the last sixty years; but I fear to weary your patience by the recital. Suffice it to say that our daily papers, the Courier, Citizen, Times and Mail, are printed on one side of the sheet at the rate of 1,800 sheets an hour; the Vox Populi at the rate of 1,300 per hour, and the J. C. Ayer Company have a Campbell cylinder press that prints sixty

sheets each minute, 3,600 sheets per hour, making 7,200 copies of their almanac. Such a press can be fed from a roll of paper containing a continuous sheet three or four miles long, which it prints, cuts and folds in one operation. So extensive is the circulation of some of the daily papers in this country, England and France, that the forms have to be stereotyped for each daily issue. One press is not of sufficient capacity to supply the demand, consequently the number of presses and stereotyped plates have to be increased to meet it.

In Allen's History of Chelmsford we catch a glimpse of a Mr. Nathaniel Coverly, who moved his printing press from Boston to South Chelmsford in 1775. John Farmer is quoted as authority for this statement. The reason for such a removal is readily suggested by the condition of Boston at that time. Mr. Coverly probably thought that his printing materials would be more secure in Chelmsford than in Boston. Next year Mr. Coverly is in Concord. As Allen's History of Chelmsford was printed at Haverhill, in 1820, we may safely conclude that there was no facility for the work in Chelmsford at that time.

Here let me introduce an extract from the diary of our respected President, Dr. John O. Green: "1824, June 24. First number of our Chelmsford newspaper brought round to us." This was the Chelmsford Courier, published and edited by William Baldwin. It was printed at Middlesex Village, and the first number was dated June 25, 1824. I am indebted to the same diary for the fact that "January 25, 1825, the Courier was edited by Paul Dabney, for a few weeks of his vacation, which he spent at the head of the Middlesex Canal. He was a resident graduate of Harvard, studying divinity." May 20, 1825, Rev. Bernard Whitman became

the editor.* I learn from Z. E. Stone, editor of the Mail, who is in possession of a portion of the first volume of the Courier, that the printing office was burned, and from its ashes arose the Phenix, and also that Mr. Baldwin published a paper called the Ladies' Literary Friend.

June 28, 1825, No. 1, Vol. 1, of the Chelmsford Phoenix † appeared, Bernard Whitman, editor, William Baldwin, publisher and proprietor. The motto at the head of the editorial column is a quotation from the thirteenth chapter of Hebrews, part of the sixteenth verse: "But to do good and to communicate forget not." The editor should have adopted the whole verse, with slight alterations: "for with such sacrifices [the editor] is well pleased." Under the motto the editor says: "One word to our subscribers. We wish them to send us from time to time a list of the subjects on which our thoughts are desired."

Mention is made of a paper called the "Globe," published at the "General Printing Office," East Chelmsford, by J. H. White. "The first number of a new paper dated at East Chelmsford, but printed in Boston, was circulated in this town on Saturday last (June 24, 1825). It is advertised in one of its columns as being published at the 'General Printing Office, East Chelmsford, by J. H. White.' We thought ourselves pretty well acquainted in this town, but we must confess that we have not been able to discover this General Printing Office." The editor then proceeds to give the "Globe" a thorough overhauling, exposing its bad grammar, pretence, assurance and egotism. As no further editorial

* Rev. Bernard Whitman officiated at the meeting-house which stood near the head of the canal, at Middlesex Village. This house was afterwards sold to the Catholics and moved to North Chelmsford, where it now stands. He received and accepted a call to become the pastor of the Second Religious Society, in Waltham. He was installed February 15, 1826.

† Soon after the o was left out in spelling this word.

mention is made of this paper, we are left to conclude it was short-lived. That it was printed in East Chelmsford appears conclusive, from a notice dated September 16, 1825: "The Phenix Office is removed to East Chelmsford, and occupies the place of the Globe Printing Office."

J. S. C. Knowlton became the proprietor of the Phenix, July 4, 1825, with E. W. Reinhart as printer. The name Phenix was dropped and Journal substituted, March 3, 1826. Lowell was incorporated as a town March 1, 1826, but the name Merrimack Journal was not changed to Lowell Journal until March 2, 1827.

October 7, 1825, William Baldwin calls upon those indebted to settle, and offers his furniture for sale, as he intends to leave town.

June 30, 1826, E. W. Reinhart issued proposals for publishing in the city of Boston, a weekly newspaper, entitled the North American Democrat.

January 12, 1826, Joel Adams, Postmaster at Chelmsford, published a list of the letters remaining in his office, with the information "that the list can be found at F. Hobbs' store."

January 31, 1826, nineteen days after, J. C. Morrill, Postmaster at East Chelmsford, appears in an advertisement which reveals the following facts: Mails were carried three times a week between Lowell and Boston; rates of letter postage for 80 miles 6 cts., 150 miles 12½ cts., 400 miles 18¾ cts., over 400 miles 25 cts.; if the letter was in two pieces, double these rates were charged.

November 14, 1829, the Lowell Mercury appeared as a weekly, Thomas Billings, proprietor, Rev. Eliphalet Case, editor. It was established as the organ of the Democratic party. At first it was printed in one of the

Merrimack cottages, situated on the south side of Merrimack Street, where Welles' Block now stands. As soon as Mr. Billings had finished the brick building on the opposite side of the street, the printing office was removed into it. Mr. Case was installed as pastor of the First Universalist Society in 1828, and retained this position two years. He succeeded William Wyman as Postmaster in 1833, and held the office seven or eight years. He removed to Portland, Me., and for a time edited the *Eastern Argus*. From there, in company with Samuel M. Bellows, he went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and started a newspaper. Failing in this experiment, he became interested in manufacturing whiskey and raising pork in Indiana.

Thomas Billings came to East Chelmsford in 1824 and started a book bindery. He soon added a bookstore to the bindery. In connection with Hazen Elliot he built the third brick building on Merrimack Street—it might truthfully be said to have been the second, as his block was finished as soon, if not sooner, than the City Hall Building. In 1833 he made an assignment of his property and removed to Lunenburg, Mass. He saved his brick block, and eventually sold it, I think to S. F. Gladwin. The site is occupied by the Mechanics' Bank Building.

September 30, 1829, the Groton Herald was united with the Lowell Journal. July 8, 1831, the proprietor of the Journal gave notice that he should publish a tri-weekly paper. August 6th, J. S. C. Knowlton retired from the Journal, and left Lowell. He was born in Hopkinton, N. H.; graduated at Dartmouth College; went from Lowell to Worcester; started the Worcester Palladium; was elected High Sheriff of Worcester County in 1856; and died June 11, 1871.

March, 1832, Oliver Sheple commenced the publication of the *Rose Bud*, a Sabbath School monthly. The contributors to it were Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, Mrs. Huntington, and Miss Hinckley. The last number bears the date of February, 1834.

After the departure of Mr. Knowlton there was a contest for the possession of the Journal establishment. Randall Meacham, of the firm of Meacham & Mathewson, tried to buy the concern, but J. R. Adams had a mortgage on it, and was enabled to secure it for the sum of \$1,800. This occurred September 3, 1831. Meacham having failed to secure the Journal, started the *Middlesex Telegraph*, September 16th, with Albin Beard as printer.* On the same day, E. C. Purdy, who had been engaged by J. R. Adams to take charge of the editorial department of the Journal, issued proposals for the publication of a daily. Mr. Purdy had edited the *Rutland (Vt.) Herald*, the *Horn of the Green Mountains*, and the *Whitehall Palladium*. September 17th, the first number of the *Daily Journal* appeared, and also that of the weekly *Middlesex Telegraph*. Mr. Purdy edited the Journal one year for Mr. J. R. Adams, and then leased the establishment of him, and published the paper on his own account. Before the expiration of the lease, in May, 1833, the establishment and lease was purchased by John S. Sleeper, who had been the publisher and editor of the *Exeter (N. H.) News-Letter*. Mr. Sleeper has placed upon record his recollection of this transaction, dated January 7, 1861: "I purchased the *Lowell Journal* (a weekly and daily paper) of Mr. Adams, May 15, 1833, and purchased of Mr. Purdy his lease and right to money due from subscribers. Mr.

* After Mr. Beard left Meacham, the *Medical Journal*, edited by Dr. Elisha Bartlett, was printed at the *Telegraph* office.

Weld came into this arrangement, and the Lowell Compend was published at the office of the Lowell Journal. Weld retired the 5th of August, leaving with me the Compend, which was continued until October 9th."

H. Hastings Weld, a graduate of the Journal office, started the Experiment in 1832, and soon after changed the name to the Compend. Previous to this new co-partnership Mr. Weld had purchased the type and material of the Middlesex Telegraph. If he bought on credit it afforded Meacham an opportunity to pay off the Journal for the disappointment he experienced in his failure to get possession of that paper. As has been stated, the co-partnership formed by Sleeper and Weld in May, 1833, terminated a few months after, resulting in the financial distress of H. Hastings Weld, and the transfer of John S. Sleeper to the editorship of the Boston Journal. Soon after these occurrences the Semi-Weekly Times was started (in 1834) by H. H. Weld, with Shubael Kinnicut as printer. The office was in Livingston's building, Tower's Corner. Afterwards, when Weld left Lowell, he became a contributor to the Boston Galaxy and the Boston Pearl. He published his contributions, in 1836, under the title of "Corrected Proofs." Later he compiled an Annual. He is now a clergyman of the Episcopal order, settled in Riverton, New Jersey.

November 1, 1832, Alfred Gilman started the Album, or Ladies' Common-Place Book. It was printed semi-monthly, at No. 35 Merrimack Street, in one of William Wyman's buildings. At the close of its first year the good will of the paper was sold to George Brown.

The Lowell Observer, an organ of the Congregationalists, and the Lowell Evangelist, Baptist, were started in 1831. The Observer was edited by the Rev. Mr. Southmayd, and the Evangelist by the Rev. E. W. Freeman. The experiment of publishing sectarian papers in

Lowell, of which the Observer and Evangelist were the pioneers, has almost invariably proved to be a financial failure. This was the case with both of these papers.

For a time, after Sleeper left the Lowell Journal, it was edited by Charles H. Locke. In the autumn or early winter of 1834, the old Lowell Journal failed under his management. The publication was not resumed until after the sale to Huntress & Knowlton. A bargain was made with Kirk Boott, but the property was held in trust by John R. Adams and John L. Sheafe. Leonard Huntress having purchased one-half of the Mercury, in 1834, formed a co-partnership with Daniel H. Knowlton, who bought the other half, and then they effected the purchase of the Journal, uniting the two papers. January 6, 1835, they started the Lowell Courier as a tri-weekly. This co-partnership was dissolved September 20, 1836.

In 1834 the Lowell Advertiser, a tri-weekly, was started by B. E. Hale, and edited by Eliphalet Case, who was intensely excited over the disaffection of the Mercury, which appeared as a Whig paper. In 1835 the Lowell Patriot, a weekly, was started in connection with the tri-weekly Advertiser, and both were printed by Dearborn & Bellows, at No. 35 Merrimack Street. A paper called the Pledge was printed at the Advertiser office, and another, called the Female Advocate, was printed at the Journal and Mercury office. This year Kinnicutt & Parker published a paper called the Journal and Bulletin. It was printed in Livingston's building, Tower's Corner. The appropriation of the name Journal, grew out of the suspension of the Lowell Journal. The Zion's Banner was published and edited by Elder Nathaniel Thurston, while his popularity was at its height.

In 1836 the Patriot office was moved to the brick building corner Central and Middle Street; the Lowell Times passed into the hands of James Wingate; a paper called the Messenger was printed by George Brown, at No. 35 Merrimack Street; another, called the Standard, edited by Edward Waylen, was printed at the Times office; another, called the Gazette, printed by Alfred S. Tilden, office corner Merrimack and John Streets; and the Philanthropist was published by Rev. Aaron Lummas, Suffolk Square, Merrimack Street.

April 17, 1837, Daniel H. Knowlton, Mr. Huntress' former partner, died at Hopkinton, N. H. He was a brother of J. S. C. Knowlton, and married Ann, sister to Thomas Billings. His wife and two children survived him.

In 1838 the Casket, a weekly paper, was published by Brown & Judkins, at No. 13 Merrimack Square, Suffolk Street. The Advertiser at this time was edited by N. P. Banks.

In 1839 Mr. Huntress engaged Robins Dinsmore, a lawyer by profession, who had been a member of the legislature of Vermont, to edit the Journal and Courier. He retired July 11, 1840, and was succeeded by William O. Bartlett, a brother of Dr. Elisha Bartlett. Mr. Bartlett continued until April 20, 1841, when he was succeeded by Daniel S. Richardson, who continued to the close of the year. This year (1839) the Advertiser and Patriot was printed by William Gould.

January 1, 1840, Rev. Orange Scott, assisted by Rev. J. Horton, published and edited the American Wesleyan Observer—anti-slavery. The publication continued six months and was succeeded, January 7, 1841, by the New England Christian Advocate, edited by Rev. Luther Lee. Both these papers were printed at the Journal and

Courier office, which was moved (1840) to the building on the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. This year (1840) the Advertiser and Patriot was published by Abijah Watson; the Zion's Banner (Free-Will Baptist) was printed in the basement of their building, at the head of Central Street; the Literary Souvenir, a weekly and the Ladies' Repository, a semi-monthly, were published by A. B. F. Hildreth. The last two were started in 1839. Mr. Hildreth also published a penny paper called "The Daily Morning News," August 12, 1840.

The first number of the Lowell Offering appeared in October, 1840. It demands something more than a mere passing notice. It was really what it pretended to be—a magazine containing original compositions by girls who worked in the mills. The circumstances attending its origin have been faithfully detailed by the Rev. A. C. Thomas and Miss Harriet Farley. An improvement circle was formed in 1839-'40, where written communications were received and read by the pastor of the Second Universalist Church, Mr. Thomas. Their authorship being unknown they were subject to criticism and amendment. The reading of these articles was the sole entertainment of the circle. This led to the practice of reading, at social meetings of the church members or the society, those articles which were of a serious and religious character. The talent thus brought out led to the publication of the Offering.

The success of the Offering was such that a rival sprung up called the Operatives' Magazine. Miss Farley says: "It differed from the Offering by receiving communications from both sexes and from those females who had left the mill. After a time, however, the gentlemen's articles were discarded, and the magazine passed entirely into the hands of the young ladies. They

owned, edited and published it." Previous to this the male editor, Abel C. Thomas, sold the Offering to the printer of the Magazine, William Schouler, and after a while both works were united in one by the proprietor, and edited by Harriet Farley.

In the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1881, Lucy Larcom has an article entitled "Among Lowell Mill-Girls." She carries us back to the improvement circle in the following reminiscence of her youthful days:

"This propensity for scribbling having shown itself to be somewhat contagious among us younger ones, a motherly elder sister devised a plan for making a mutual entertainment for us out of it. She started a little paper in which our stories and verses were collected, having been dropped very privately by us into a box, of which she held the key. It was great fun for us to listen to the semi-weekly evening reading, and guess at the carefully concealed authorship.

"Our little journal was called the Diving Bell, and we were not critical enough to perceive any incongruity between its title and its motto—

'T is here young mind her untried strength shall prove,
And onward, upward, she 'll forever move.'

Certainly we felt delightfully free to plunge or soar at will. Our thoughts made amusing ventures in almost every direction.

"The manuscript file of the Diving Bell, twelve numbers, yellow and thumb-worn, is still in existence. It is not unlikely that it was the germ from which the Lowell Offering blossomed. For, at about this time, a group of young mill-girls, of whom the elder sister just mentioned was one, formed themselves into what they called an Improvement Circle, the object of which was

the writing and reading of their own literary compositions, with mutual criticism. An enlarged improvement circle grew out of this, and from the material there collected the first numbers of the Lowell Offering were made up and published."

The *Vox Populi* was started in June, 1841, by J. M. Stone. Samuel J. Varney was engaged to print the *Vox* for six months. Mr. Varney came to Lowell in 1839 or 1840; had previously been at Methuen in business, which he sold and went to Ohio. The office at Methuen was destroyed by fire. He being a loser by that occurrence, came back and was attracted to Lowell. He worked in the Advertiser office, then owned by Abijah Watson. Afterwards he opened a small book, periodical and newspaper store in Wyman's Exchange. He obtained from Methuen a hand press which had become damaged in the fire, repaired it and set it up in the basement of a building at the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. December 4, 1841, at the end of six months, the *Vox* passed into the hands of Mr. Varney, and he retained it until January 8, 1850, when John T. Chesley became the proprietor. In May, 1856, it was purchased by S. J. Varney and published by S. W. Huse & Co., Mr. Varney being the sole owner. The death of Mr. Varney, November 11, 1859, made another change necessary, and January 1, 1860, the paper became the property of Stone & Huse. A few years afterwards N. J. N. Bacheller was admitted a partner. The editors of the *Vox* are numerous. Among them were James M. Stone, S. J. Varney, J. F. C. Hayes, B. F. Johnson, Enoch Emery, A. W. Farr, Thomas Bradley, Miss Harriet F. Curtis, John A. Goodwin, Z. E. Stone, and Samuel A. McPhetres. Three daily papers have at different times been published in connection with the *Vox Populi*—

the Daily Telegraph, during the winter of 1849-'50; the Daily Vox, during the first exhibition of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, in 1851; and the Daily News, by John T. Chesley. October, 1878, Z. E. Stone retired from the Vox, and was succeeded by John A. Goodwin. The firm is now Huse, Goodwin & Co.

In 1841 the Ladies' Pearl, a monthly publication by E. A. Rice, was printed at the Journal and Courier office.

The Star of Bethlehem, a weekly (Universalist) publication by Powers & Bagley, was printed at the Advertiser office. In 1844 it was edited by T. B. Thayer and A. A. Miner; N. Osgood publisher and proprietor.

January 1, 1842, William Schouler purchased the Lowell Journal and Courier. Previously he had purchased of William S. Robinson the Concord Republican, a paper that grew out of the Concord Yeoman. The two papers were united, or rather as Robinson had it, "the Journal swallowed" the Republican. William S. Robinson came to Lowell with Mr. Schouler, as assistant editor, and for a short time became the Washington correspondent of the Courier. As this did not pay, Robinson returned to Lowell and did the light work. In 1845 Robinson went to Manchester, N. H., and was associated with John H. Warland in editing the American, a Whig paper. He returned to Lowell in April, 1846. During 1842-'43 the Lowell Advertiser was edited by William Butterfield, afterwards the editor of the Nashua Gazette and Concord Patriot.

At this time (1842) there was also published a small weekly sheet entitled "The Sword of Truth." It was conducted in the interest of the Methodist denomination, perhaps as a counteractive to the Universalist paper already alluded to.

In 1843 the Middlesex Washingtonian and Martha Washington Advocate, a weekly, was printed in Coburn's Block, Central Street, L. D. Johnson.

The late James M. Stone, began the publication of the Daily Herald, a morning paper, office in third story of a building on Central Street, opposite Market, now occupied as a job printing office. So far as known there are no numbers of the paper in existence. It was published about a year. Soon after its discontinuance, Mr. Stone removed to Charlestown. He was the originator, and for the first six months of its existence, the conductor of the Vox Populi. Previous to engaging in the publication of the Herald he was for some years a clerk in the store of Messrs. Burbank, Chase & Co. Stone became prominent in the Free Soil party; was elected to the House of Representatives, became Speaker of that body and was for many years a prominent and influential party man. He was born in 1817, at Westford; died December 19, 1880.

The Genius of Christianity, a semi-monthly, was printed at the Journal and Courier office.

In 1843-'44 the Orion was started by Washington F. Somerby. It was printed in Coburn's Block, Central Street. After the first year it passed into the possession of Arthur P. Bonney who published and edited it another year, when it was merged in other papers. The Operative, a weekly, was published by J. C. Stowell & Co., at No. 76 Central Street, Lowell, and No. 38 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.

In 1845 the Patriot and Advertiser passed into the hands of H. E. and S. C. Baldwin; the Republican, a weekly, was printed at the Vox Populi office, Fisher A. Hildreth, publisher and proprietor; the Sunday School

Monitor, a monthly, was published at No. 9 Merrimack Street; the Worcester County Gazette and Middlesex Standard, a weekly, was published by Pillsbury & Knapp, at 24 Central Street, and Langley, Abbott ("Long John"), Dealing & Co., practical printers, published the True Reformer and Independent Press. A scurrilous paper called the Life in Lowell, edited by John C. Palmer, was published at No. 56 Central Street, and another called the Scourge, without paternity. John G. Whittier has left a reminiscence of his residence in Lowell, called the "Stranger in Lowell," published in 1845. He says: "Occupying, during a brief sojourn in Lowell, in the past autumn (1844) a position which necessarily brought him into somewhat harsh collision with both of the great political parties on the eve of an exciting election, he deemed it at once a duty and privilege to keep his heart open to the kindest influences of nature and society."

At the solicitation of a few anti-slavery friends, he came here to edit the "Middlesex Standard," which survived but a few months. It was a pecuniary loss to Mr. Whittier as well as the proprietors.

In 1846 William Schouler went to Europe and left William S. Robinson in sole charge of the Courier. Mrs. Robinson, in the life of her husband, says. "the credit acquired by his (Robinson's) articles in the Courier, caused Schouler to receive an offer to go into the Boston Atlas in 1847!" There are others who believe that Schouler's letters from Europe, published in the Courier, had something to do with it.

In 1846 William F. Young edited a paper called the "Voice of Industry." It was printed at the Courier office. October 3, the editor lectured in Nashua. In commenting upon the lecture the editor of the Nashua Telegraph called it "stuff."

The Literary Visitor appeared in 1847, and was succeeded by the Lowell Gazette, July 31, published by Joel Taylor and Daniel Kimball. Joel Taylor served his apprenticeship in the office of the Lowell Mercury; continued in the employ of Huntress & Knowlton, after the Journal and Mercury were united; in 1844-'45 he had a job printing office at No. 82 Central Street, where the firm of Stearns & Taylor printed the Lowell Offering; left the Gazette November 30, 1847, having disposed of his interest to a Mr. Farnsworth, and probably went to Manchester, N. H., soon after. There he was commissioned as penny-post, January 29, 1849, in which position he continued until his decease, May, 8, 1881. Daniel Kimball was a lecturer on the subject of temperance, and editor of the Temperance Standard. The Gazette was sustained by William Livingston, between whom and B. F. Butler, there had grown up a rivalry for the Democratic support. Ira B. Pearsons became editor of the Gazette, which survived until February 9, 1849, when its light went out.

Fisher A. Hildreth in 1846-'47 became the editor of the Advertiser and Patriot, and the Republican was absorbed by these papers; the Niagara, a weekly, edited by Rev. William H. Brewster—Jesse E. Farnsworth and Nelson Drake, publishers—was printed at No. 44 Central Street; the Gospel Fountain, edited by Rev. William Bell, was published by Pillsbury & Knapp; the Ladies' Magazine and Casket of Literature, edited by Miss A. T. Wilbur, was published by E. A. Rice; and the Temperance Offering, a bi-monthly, Rev. Nathaniel Hervey, editor, office No. 112 Merrimack Street.

July 1, 1847, Schouler sold the Journal and Courier to James Atkinson, of Newport, R. I. William S. Robinson was retained as editor until June 12, 1848, when he was succeeded by Leander R. Streeter.

William Schouler was born at Kilbarchan, county of Renfrew, Scotland, December 31, 1814. He was by trade a calico printer. After he left Lowell, he became editor of the Boston Atlas, May 1, 1847, which position he retained for a number of years. Although a warm personal and political friend of Daniel Webster, the 7th of March speech made by him completely separated them. November 30, 1857, Mr. Schouler connected himself with the Cincinnati Gazette, retaining the connection three years. Afterwards he edited the Ohio State Journal at Columbus and was appointed by Gov. Chase, Adjutant General of Ohio. He returned to Massachusetts in 1857 and edited the Boston Atlas and Bee. In 1860 Gov. Banks appointed him Adjutant General for Massachusetts, a position he held through the war and until 1866.

Mr. Schouler represented Lowell in the House of Representatives in 1842, 1843, 1844. When he became a resident of Boston, he was sent to the House for four years and in 1853 was clerk. In 1868 he entered the Senate from the first Essex Senatorial District.

In connection with his son he edited and published two volumes of the Massachusetts War Records. He died at Roxbury, October 4, 1872.

January 1, 1848 the Courier was enlarged. In July, 1848, William S. Robinson succeeded C. F. Adams in the editorial chair of the Boston Daily Whig, afterwards called the Boston Republican, where he continued until February, 1849, when Henry Wilson cut his pay down to one dollar and twenty-five cents per day. He came back to Lowell, May 28, 1849, and started the Tri-Weekly American, which lived till November 22, 1853. August 28, 1848, the Massachusetts Era (Free Soil) appeared, Dana B. Gove, publisher; J. W. Hanson, editor. January 13, 1849, Leander R. Streeter left the

Journal and Courier, and was succeeded on the 15th by J. H. Warland. February 4, 1850, S. J. Varney purchased the Courier establishment, on which there was a mortgage of \$9,000 to William Schouler. A small Sabbath School publication, called the Day Star, was printed by A. B. Wright, at No. 55 Central Street.

July 3, 1851, the Christian Era (Baptist), a weekly, was published by J. M. Burt; Rev. D. C. Eddy, editor. Miss Harriet Farley in 1851 published and edited the New England Offering and Mill Girls' Advocate. It was issued monthly from No. 22 Appleton Block. June 4, 1851, the Daily Morning News appeared, Enoch Emery and Abram Keach, editors; Keach, Emery & Co., publishers.

In 1851 the Spindle City and Middlesex Farmer, a weekly, was published by Keach & Emery; L. H. Hildreth, of Westford, agricultural editor.

August 23, 1852, the Lowell Advertiser made its appearance as a daily, published by Samuel M. Bellows and Levi Hedge; James J. Maguire, editor. A weekly paper called Wentworth's Waverly was published this year (1852) by George Wentworth, at No. 48 Central Street.

June 12, 1852, the Lowell Mirror, a weekly, published by Chase & Hoitt, No. 21 Central Street, made its appearance.

A monthly paper called the Medical Expositor was commenced in 1852, and printed from time to time as an advertising sheet.

June 30, 1853, J. H. Warland left the Courier and was succeeded by Charles Cowley. Mr. Cowley contributed to the Courier, in 1872, a sketch of the life of John H. Warland, from which I quote: "John H. Warland, eldest son of John and Sarah (Bates) Warland, was born in Cambridge, Mass., April 20, 1807. He was fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.

He entered Harvard College in 1823, and graduated in 1827, in the same class with Dr. Francis Dana, whose death preceded his own by only a few days. He once began the study of law in New York, but soon discontinued it and taught school, first in Lancaster, Mass., and afterwards in Medfield, Mass.

“In 1834 he went to Claremont, N. H., and took the charge of the *National Eagle*, a paper devoted to the Whig cause. He was much liked by the Whig chiefs. ‘How are you, old Eagle?’ was the familiar way in which Mr. Webster once addressed him. ‘Give us your claw. I have heard the crack of your rifle at Washington. Let it ring out sharp, and clear, and true; let the lubberly smooth-bores foul their pieces as they may.’

“From Claremont in April, 1842, Mr. Warland went to Boston, and for a short time edited the *American*, a Clay paper. About 1847, he published *The Plume*, a volume of tales and poems, patriotic and popular, which had an extensive circulation. These tales and poems had all previously appeared in the *Claremont Eagle*. Some of the most popular songs sung during the campaign of 1840 (“*Tippecanoe and Tyler, too*”) were from his pen, and may be found in the *Plume*.

“He was next connected with the *Manchester American*, and while so connected, experienced the first symptoms of that terrible mania which was fated to project its shadow over so much of his life. He, however, gunned the *American* all through the Polk and Clay campaign of 1846.

“When the Mexican war broke out he enlisted in the regiment which New England furnished for the army of invasion under Col. Caleb Cushing. In Mexico he had a rich experience, which he poured out profusely, in after years, in the columns of the various journals which from

time to time owned his sway. Gen. Pierce made him his private secretary, and at a later day General Scott employed him, or permitted him to be employed, as editor of the *American Star*, which was published, one-half in English, the other half in Spanish, in the city of Mexico, both the languages of his bi-lingual sheet being spoken and written with facility by the editor.

“Returning from Mexico he became editor of the *Lowell Courier*. His protracted war of words with Gen. Butler, whose epitaph he published, and thereby involved both himself and Mr. Varney, his editorial colleague, in prosecutions for libel, will never be forgotten by the Lowellians of that time. After quitting the *Courier* he became editor of the *Boston Chronicle* and subsequently a contributor to other Boston and New York journals.

“In 1859, the infirmity to which allusion has already been made, rendered it necessary that he should be treated systematically, and Mr. Warland became a patient in the Lunatic Hospital at South Boston. He remained there till 1868, when he was transferred to Taunton—his last abode.

“Mr. Warland was married in 1832 to Marianne, eldest daughter of William E. Carter, of Cambridge. She died at Claremont in 1841, and he never afterward married. By this marriage he had two children, who survive him—a son, William C. Warland, who went to sea at the age of fourteen and is now (1872) captain of the American merchantman *Endeavor*, and a daughter, the wife of James H. Wyeth, of Cambridge.

“He died July 7, 1872, and was interred in his father's tomb in old Cambridge.”

October 12, 1853, the following papers were printed on the *Courier* press: *Dailies*—*Courier*, *News* and *Her-*

ald. Tri-weekly—American. Weeklies—Journal, Christian Era, Vox Populi and Lowell Cabinet. I have found no other record of the Cabinet than this fact.

April 21, 1854, the Lowell Daily Morning Herald, published by Enoch Emery, ceased to exist. It died a yearling. May 5, 1854, Z. E. Stone, who had been with J. T. Chesley in the management of the Vox Populi, left that paper, and commenced, May 20, the publication of the American Citizen. The World's Crisis (Second Advent) was published this year by Jonas Merriam; S. J. Varney, printer. September 1, 1854, Charles Cowley left the Courier and was succeeded, October 1, by John A. Goodwin. Mr. Goodwin bought the Lawrence Courier of J. F. C. Hayes, January 1, 1851; Homer A. Cook became senior partner with him July 1, 1852. Hayes took Cook's interest January 1, 1854, and Goodwin sold his share September 30, 1854, to F. Leathe, and came to Lowell.

May 3, 1855, James J. Maguire left the Advertiser and was succeeded by Charles Hunt and Robins Dinsmore. The proprietor of the Advertiser was Fisher A. Hildreth, Postmaster. September 10, 1855, Frank Crosby, son of Deacon Judah Crosby, was engaged on the American Citizen and remained until November 20. December 31, 1855, John A. Goodwin published his valedictory to the readers of the Courier and was succeeded by Benjamin W. Ball.

Charles Cowley in 1855 bought the News of Abram Keach and sold it immediately to Chesley, who disposed of it in 1856. April 28, 1856, the Daily Morning News and the Daily Citizen united under the editorial care of John A. Goodwin, general and political editor, Enoch Emery, city reporter; Leonard Brown and George F. Morey, publishers; politics, American Republican.

In 1854, as has been previously stated, Z. E. Stone commenced the publication of the American Citizen, a weekly; in September, 1855 he began the publication of a Daily of the same name in connection with it. April, 1856, he sold his office and papers to Messrs. Brown and Morey. The following two years he spent in Chicago, Illinois. He returned to Lowell, and July 1, 1858, bought a small second-hand printing establishment with which the Trumpet (an advertising sheet) had been published, moved it to Haverhill, enlarged it, and January 1, 1859, began the Tri-Weekly Publisher, which he conducted successfully and satisfactorily for one year, and then sold it to take a half interest in the Vox Populi, Samuel J. Varney, the proprietor, having died in November, 1859.

J. A. Goodwin retained his position as editor of the Daily Citizen and News for nearly a year. In the fall of 1856 he was elected as one of the representatives from Lowell to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and in 1857 attended both the regular and extra sessions. For a short time, during J. J. Colton's illness, he was a teacher in the High School. Enoch Emery, in the meantime, took control of the editorial department of the Citizen and News. Mr. Goodwin resumed the charge in 1858. In June, 1859, Leonard Brown disposed of his interest to C. L. Knapp, who became the editor, and the firm of Knapp & Morey was formed July 1, which continued until March, 1876, when Mr. Morey sold his interest to Mr. Knapp and retired.

May, 1856, the Courier establishment became the property of Tappan Wentworth, who purchased it of Samuel J. Varney. S. N. Merrill's name appeared as publisher. He had been an assistant with Charles Merrill, then principal of the Green School.

February 12, 1857, a paper called "The Star" appeared, published by E. D. Green & Co., at No. 38 Central Street. March 31, H. A. Pierce was associated with S. N. Merrill in the publication of the Courier. He was born at Danville, Vt.; entered Dartmouth College in 1852, but did not graduate; came to Lowell in 1855; was employed as clerk in the Courier office, and became a partner in 1857. He died January 23, 1858. September 30, 1857, The Middlesex American, a tri-weekly, appeared, edited by Rev. L. J. Fletcher, and advocated the election of Henry J. Gardner. The Weekly Union, printed by B. H. Penhallow, was published and edited by High School scholars.

July 1, 1859, John A. Goodwin retired from the Citizen and News. Being a member of the Legislature for 1859, '60 and '61, he was elected Speaker of the House for the two last years.

November 11, 1859, Samuel J. Varney died. He was born in Rochester, N. H., March 11, 1814, the son of Enos Varney. He learned the trade of printer in the Dover Gazette office, and in 1835 started the Methuen Falls Gazette, the publication of which was suspended on account of fire. He married, in 1836, a daughter of David Place, of Rochester. In 1840 he came to Lowell. His connection with the newspapers has already been detailed. His wife died in 1851, and in 1852 he married Ruth Stuart, who still survives. He was a member of the Common Council in 1850-'51 and Alderman in 1852 and '59. He was Secretary of the Middlesex North Agricultural Society for several years.

April 16, 1860, Stone & Huse purchased the Journal and Courier of Tappan Wentworth. November 16, Homer A. Cook, who had been editor of the Journal and Courier for a short time, retired from the editorial

management; started the Lowell Sentinel, a literary paper, in the spring of 1861, and discontinued the publication June 8, that same year. Z. E. Stone became editor of the Journal and Courier, and retained that position until September 1, 1867.

May 21, 1861, The Gad Fly, a semi-monthly, illustrated, Douglas Democratic paper, was printed and published by L. W. Huntington. This was a flyer to the Douglas Democrat, a tri-weekly, which appeared August 20, under the auspices of A. R. Brown, W. E. Livingston and J. K. Fellows.

September 1, 1867, Stone & Huse disposed of their interest in the Journal and Courier to Marden & Rowell, who retain it now. George A. Marden was born in Mount Vernon, N. H., August 9, 1839. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1861, having prepared himself at Appleton Academy. During his College course he worked at his trade and taught school to raise the necessary funds. In November, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company G, Second Regiment, Berdan's U. S. Sharpshooters; mustered in December 12, 1861, and received a warrant as Second Sergeant. In April, 1862, he was transferred to the First Regiment, U. S. S., which served under McClellan, from Yorktown to Harrison's Landing. July 10, 1862, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and Regimental Quartermaster. January 1, 1862, was ordered on staff duty as acting Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Brigade, Third Division, Third Corps, and served in this capacity until August, 1863, participating in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Wapping Heights. He was then ordered to Riker's Island, New York harbor, on detached service, but, at his own request, soon returned to his regiment and served until it was mustered out, September, 1864.

He returned to New Hampshire; studied law in the spring of 1865, at Concord, and was at the same time employed in writing for the Daily Monitor. In November, 1865, he went to Charleston, West Virginia, and purchased the Kanawha Republican, a weekly paper, which he edited until the spring of 1866, when he disposed of the paper and returned to New Hampshire. There he was employed to "compile, arrange and edit a history of each of the New Hampshire military organizations, during the war" for the Adjutant General's report. Meantime he wrote for the Monitor and the Boston Daily Advertiser. January, 1867, he accepted and held the position of assistant editor of the Advertiser until the first of September, when he came to Lowell.

December 10, 1867, he was married to Mary P., daughter of Dea. David Fiske, of Nashua, N. H. They have two children: Philip Sanford, born January 12, 1874, and Robert Fiske, born June 14, 1876.

Mr. Marden was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from Lowell in 1873; Clerk of the House in 1874, and has held that position every year since then.

Edward Thomas Rowell was born at West Concord, N. H., August 14, 1836, the son of Ira and Rebecca (Kimball) Rowell. He graduated at Dartmouth College in the Class of 1861, and soon after enlisted in the Fifth N. H. Volunteers. Before leaving the State he was commissioned Second Lieutenant of the Second N. H. Sharpshooters, under Capt. Caldwell; was promoted to Captain, Major and Lieut-Colonel in the same regiment and served until the close of the war. Major Rowell was wounded at Gettysburg and quite severely at Petersburg.

At the close of the war he went to Portland, Me., and engaged in the iron business, a member of the firm of Haseltine, Cole & Co. In September, 1867, he came to Lowell.

He married, September 8, 1870, Clara S., daughter of George Webster, of Lowell. Major Rowell was appointed Postmaster of Lowell, April 15, 1874, which office he still retains.

Removals of the Journal Office: First, to a two-story wooden building near the First Congregational Church. Second, April 13, 1827, to a building a few rods east of St. Anne's Church. Third, to Central Street, near the American House. Fourth, to Hurd Street. Fifth, February 1, 1830, to corner of Central and Middlesex Streets. Sixth, January 1, 1840, to corner of Central and Hurd Streets. Seventh, May 8, 1852, to corner of Central and Middle Streets. Eighth, to the Museum Building, Merrimack Street.

October 8, 1871, the Middlesex Democrat was published by Dr. J. H. Smith. The office was in the Museum Building. In 1872, the Daily Morning Times was published by E. A. Hills, the Doctor's son-in-law. About the 1st of August, 1872, the Democrat, Times and the Dover (N. H.) Gazette were purchased by J. Livingston Hunt of Dr. Smith, secured to him by a mortgage on the material. In 1874, a second mortgage was given to Charles Cowley. The Hunt Brothers purchased in 1875 the Penhallow Printing Office of C. H. Latham, administrator; obtained a loan from Charles Cowley, giving a mortgage on the material as security. December 20, 1875, Cowley foreclosed, took possession of the printing material, and published the papers for three months on his own account. In the early part of 1876, the two establishments were separated and the

Times transferred to Dr. J. H. Smith. From December 20, 1875, to March 20, 1876, the Times was published as an Independent paper. In 1876 the Sunday News, a Democratic campaign weekly, was published three months by D. B. Hughes and Walter H. Mills. December 15, 1879, Campbell & Hanscom bought the the Daily Morning Times of Dr. J. H. Smith.

James L. Campbell was born in Henniker, N. H. His father published the Manchester Union, where he (James L.) learned his trade. In 1872 he entered into a co-partnership with George A. Hanscom, and together they published the Union until 1879.

George A. Hanscom was born in Elliot, Me.; served three years' apprenticeship in the office of the Maine Democrat, Saco; followed the sea for twenty years; went to Manchester, N. H.; was employed in the Union office, and in connection with James L. Campbell bought the Union of the elder Campbell.

John T. Chesley was born in Dover, N. H., February 28, 1817; came to Lowell in September, 1835; worked at his trade for Daniel Swan; afterward opened a store for the sale of petroleum; became at first a local reporter for, and then the publisher of, the Vox Populi. After the war he was engaged in the exhibition of panoramic scenes during the war. Just previous to his death (November 6, 1872) he was in the employment of J. C. Ayer & Co. He left a wife but no children.

Fisher A. Hildreth died July 9, 1873. He was born in Dracut, February 5, 1818, the son of Dr. Israel Hildreth. His education was acquired in the town schools and at the Dracut Academy. On the attainment of his majority, he was sent from his native town to the Legislature of Massachusetts for two years (1840-'41). In 1845 he commenced at Lowell the publication of

the Republican, a weekly Democratic paper, and a few months after he purchased of H. E. & S. C. Baldwin* the establishment of the Tri-Weekly Advertiser and Weekly Patriot. He retained an interest in these papers up to the time of their suspension in 1863. In 1850 he received from Gov. Boutwell the appointment of Sheriff of Middlesex County, which he retained for two years. He succeeded T. P. Goodhue as Postmaster of Lowell in 1853, in which position he was kept by the Pierce and Buchanan administrations. He married Lauretta, daughter of Major Ephraim Coburn, of Dracut. The widow† and two daughters survive; the elder married Thomas Nesmith; the younger, Charles D. Palmer.

Efforts were made by our French fellow-citizens, in 1874, to be supplied with a publication in their own language. These resulted in the publication, at Fall River, of "L'Echo du Canada," which had a Lowell edition from November, 1874, to May, 1875. This was subsequented in October, 1875, by "La Republique," H. Beaugrand, editor and proprietor. This publication was removed from Lowell to Fall River, April, 1876. Beaugrand is at present editor of the leading liberal paper in Canada. "La Sentinelle" was commenced here in April, George Lambert, proprietor, and continued until December, 1879. "L'Abeille" (the Bee), a daily publication, J. B. Hurtubise, proprietor, L. E. Carufel, editor, commenced December 31, 1880; since, sold to "La Campagne d'Imprimerie Canadienne Francaise de Lowell," office No. 49 Central Street.

* January, 1843, S. C. Baldwin became editor and publisher of the Granite State Democrat, printed at Exeter, N. H. In consequence of ill health he relinquished the undertaking, and the paper ceased to exist March 9, 1843. Afterwards he came to Lowell.

† Mrs. Hildreth died October 30, 1882.

The Sun, Harrington Brothers (Daniel J.* and John H.), publishers and proprietors, Thomas F. Byron, editor, was started August 10, 1878, with four pages, enlarged August 10, 1881, to eight pages.

Stone & Huse, as has been stated, during their proprietorship of the Journal and Courier, continued the publication of the Vox Populi. After the sale of those papers to Marden & Rowell, September 1, 1867, they established a Saturday edition of the Vox, and the semi-weekly issue was continued by the new proprietors after the retirement of Z. E. Stone and N. J. N. Bacheller in 1878. A new co-partnership was formed, consisting of Z. E. Stone, N. J. N. Bacheller and Ephraim D. Livingston, which commenced the publication July 1, 1879, of the Daily Morning Mail. In connection with this publication a Semi-Weekly Mail was issued, which has since been changed to a weekly called the Saturday Evening Mail.

Zina E. Stone, the editor of the Mail, was born March 30, 1823, at Bethel, Me.; entered a printing office, as an apprentice, when a lad so small as to require the aid of about five thicknesses of inch board to bring him up to a position where he could reach the type advantageously. He served a regular apprenticeship of three years, and a year later (in 1842), a minor, came to Lowell in pursuit of work. Not succeeding he went to Concord, N. H., and worked as a journeyman, for the first time, in the office of the late Gov. Isaac Hill. In Boston, Lowell and other places he followed "the art preservative" as journeyman till 1854, when he began the publication of the Citizen. Mr. Stone was elected in 1865-'66 a member of the House of Representatives from

Ward Six. The interest he has taken in the aims and objects of this Association has been uniformly persistent. The columns of the press under his direction have ever been at its service and open to all who would elucidate and reveal new facts in the history of our city. His personal efforts in collecting and preserving pamphlets, papers and old books, in any manner illustrating the early history of Lowell, have been unwavering, and in a measure successful.

Nathaniel J. N. Bacheller was born June 16, 1827, in Fayette, Me.; learned the printing business in Saco; was in business as a newspaper and job printer in Biddeford and Saco for a time. He came to Lowell to reside in 1857. Here he became a partner in the Vox Populi printing establishment in 1872, the firm name being Stone, Huse & Co. After the dissolution of the co-partnership, in 1878, he became one of the new firm, Stone, Bacheller & Livingston, in 1879, the publishers of the Daily Mail.

Ephraim D. Livingston is a native of Lowell, born October 9, 1847. He served a regular apprenticeship in the job printing office of the late Benjamin H. Penhallow. On the decease of Mr. Penhallow he for a time continued the business for the heirs. He became a member of the present firm in 1878.

A new monthly magazine (illustrated) was issued from the Vox Populi office in November, 1881, called the New Moon, W. B. Goodwin editor, and published by the New Moon Company.

April 3, 1882, the Daily Citizen was sold by C. L. Knapp & Son to the Citizen Newspaper Company; Harry R. Rice business manager, Henry J. Moulton editor, C. F. Coburn assistant editor, and James Bayles city editor.

Chauncy L. Knapp, the retiring editor, was born February 26, 1809, at Berlin, Vt. He came to Lowell in October, 1843; united himself in 1844 with John G. Pillsbury, a book and job printer, whose office was in Centralville. Pillsbury & Knapp soon after moved their office to No. 24 Central Street. Mention has been made of their connection with sundry newspapers. Mr. Knapp afterwards was alone, occupying a room in Nesmith's Building, on Merrimack Street. He was one of the original Free Soil party which united with the Democrats and elected George S. Boutwell Governor, in 1851. Mr. Knapp was elected, in 1851, Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate. In 1854 he was elected a member of Congress by the American party and served two terms. When he returned to Lowell, after Preston Brooks' attack on Charles Sumner, his friends, not to be singular, presented him with a pistol. All the members of Congress from Massachusetts were complimented in the same way. His duties as editor of the Citizen since 1859 have been discharged with acknowledged ability. He is now a worthy member of this Association.

Harry R. Rice, the business manager of the Daily Citizen, was born in Quebec, P. Q., attended the schools of that city, and subsequently took a four years' course in a private classical school in Montreal, P. Q. He commenced on newspaper work in Hon. Mr. Walton's Gazette office in Sherbrooke, P. Q., was afterwards engaged in the same employment in Montpelier, Vt., Burlington, Vt., and Claremont, N. H. He came to Lowell in 1869 and was employed on the Lowell Daily Citizen as city editor, a position he retained until the Citizen Newspaper Company was organized, April 1, 1882.

During Mr. Rice's residence in Lowell he has been special correspondent of the Boston Journal and Bos-

ton Globe and has furnished a series of letters for Canada, Vermont and New Hampshire papers.

Henry J. Moulton was born March 29, 1847, at Macon, Georgia, the son of Thomas J. and Julia Ann (Smith) Moulton. His father was a native of Pittsfield, N. H., his mother of New Haven, Conn., both of whom he lost at an early age. From 1856 to 1859 he resided with a relative in New Hampshire; then went to Taunton, Mass., and remained until 1864. That year he removed to Tewksbury, having received an appointment as Clerk at the State Almshouse, where he remained (with the exception of one year in New York city) until the fall of 1869, when he removed to Monson, Mass. Here his duties were similar but in connection * with the State School. In 1873 he went to South Carolina; in 1876 he returned to his old position at Monson and remained until 1877; when he removed to Boston and was connected with the State Board of Charities until 1880. Since then Mr. Moulton has been engaged in journalism, writing for different newspapers. He is unmarried and the sole survivor of his family, an only sister, Mrs. Helen M. Swift of Taunton, having died in January, 1882.

In writing up the history of the press, reminiscences of the past have come to mind, which if related would have swelled the proportions of this paper to such an extent that the time allotted for its reading would have proved too short. They must be deferred until some one, refreshed and inspired by the names and dates now presented, shall take the task in hand and complete the record.

It is hardly necessary to say that this paper is imperfect; that is granted at once. If it will only be the means of inducing those who know the facts to impart

that knowledge, thus enabling us to make corrections and hand down to our successors a true record, this effort will not have been made in vain.

Before closing I cheerfully give credit to the publishers and editors of our local papers for their courtesy and kindness in imparting information. Especially am I indebted to Z. E. Stone, the editor of the Daily Mail, for allowing me to examine copies of the different papers patiently collected by him from time to time.

XIX. The Drama in Lowell, with a Short Sketch of the Life of Perez Fuller, by H. M. Ordway.

THE theatre is an institution of great antiquity. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, it was held in high estimation, and was thought to have been derived from the gods. The amphitheatre was designed for shows of gladiators and wild beasts, while the theatre was used for stage-plays. The theatres of modern days, differing somewhat from those of the ancient times, are not less popular, and one or more may be found in every town or city of any considerable size. Serious objections to theatrical performances have been raised from time to time on account of their supposed immoral tendency, and it must be confessed that many of the plays represented are not generally of a high character; but well selected entertainments, properly conducted, may serve to elevate and instruct as well as to amuse. The drama first appeared in Lowell in 1828 when it was introduced by a company whose performances were held in the hall connected with the hotel in Belvidere kept by Mr. John Kimball, the father of our esteemed fellow-citizen, John F. Kimball, Esq. This building known in later years as the "Old Yellow House," has undergone many changes since the removal of Mr. Kimball to the house on the

corner of Howe and East Merrimack Streets, now occupied by Mrs. J. B. Giles. The hall in the rear part has been separated from the main structure and was moved westerly a few rods. Rented to private families for some time, it was at length purchased by the Catholics, who removed it to Stackpole Street, where it is now used as the home of the Oblate Fathers. After the erection of the Church of the Immaculate Conception the main portion of the old structure was moved from its original location easterly, for an annex to St. John's Hospital. Within a few weeks it has been again moved, to make room for a more substantial building, and will hereafter be used for a different purpose, but still connected with the hospital.

In 1831 — five years previous to the incorporation of Lowell as a city — Mr. Jonathan Morse, the owner of a block of tenements on Winter Street, in the rear of the First Presbyterian Church, on Appleton Street, converted the entire premises into a hall, which he leased to a speculator by the name of Rounds for dramatic purposes. Neither the plays presented nor the new negro melodies sung (such as "Jim Crow," "Long-Tailed Blue," and others), proved conducive to the moral or to the intellectual improvement of its patrons, who secured admittance to the entire entertainment by paying twenty-five cents. This theatre, which was capable of accommodating about two hundred people, was successful for one or two seasons, when it was closed on account of the erection, by a Boston and Lowell Stock Company, of a much more pretentious structure on the northerly side of Lowell (now Market) Street, between Worthen Street and Maiden Lane. Here, in 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Barrett, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Murdock

and Williamson and others appeared occasionally, assisted by Mr. Perez Fuller. Mr. Barrett — one of the actors — was stage-manager, and Mr. Ostinelli, who enjoyed an enviable reputation as a conductor in Boston, led the orchestra. While living here Mr. Ostinelli played the first violin in the Appleton Street Church, now under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Court, and also received pupils in music in Concert Hall, on Merrimack Street. Mr. Ostinelli married a Miss Hewett, an accomplished lady of Boston, who for many years was organist for the Handel and Hadyn Society, and it is said that she was the first lady organist, and their daughter, the celebrated Madame Biscaciantti, the first American prima donna who appeared before the public. Mr. and Mrs. Ostinelli's married life not proving harmonious, a separation ensued.

The Lowell Street Theatre proved a successful investment the first year, although denounced by nearly all the members of the different churches, who believed it to be one of the great sources of evil. Rev. Eliphalet Case, the editor of the Mercury, representing this portion of the community, presented a remonstrance to the Selectmen against renewing the license of the Company. Several public meetings were held concerning it. John P. Robinson, a stock-holder and one of the foremost lawyers in the town, was counsel for the applicants, while Mr. Heydock, a Websterian-looking lawyer of considerable repute, and Rev. Mr. Streeter, a retired Universalist clergyman from Salem, then practising law in Lowell, represented the opposition. The controversy was not conducted in the most amiable spirit, the counsel often indulging in the most bitter invective, which did not assist in allaying the excitement. Every one connected in any way with this theatre was censured. Even the

Secretary of this Association was threatened with prosecution for doing the printing for the company.*

Finally, after weeks of agitation, the Selectmen refused to grant a renewal of the license. Mr. Robinson advised a continuance of the plays without one; and, acting upon his advice, the management announced for the succeeding evening Sheriden Knowles' "Hunchback." Immediately after the conclusion of the performance the principal actors were arrested and held for trial. At the examination before Judge Locke, in the Police Court rooms (held in the building built by a brother of Judge Crosby, but recently demolished for the erection of the new Central Block), Mr. Robinson, who was an exceedingly nervous man, used such intemperate language to the Court, witnesses and counsel, that serious thoughts were entertained of attempting to procure his expulsion from the bar. This contest resulted adversely to the company, and the building was closed for theatrical entertainments. It was afterwards opened by Rev. Mr. Pease for a free church, called the Third Congregational Society, which had but a short existence. At the present time this long, dilapidated structure (just above the Hadley Block) is overflowing with a class of tenants whose greatest ambition is to participate in a contest to redress Ireland's wrongs.

* Dr. John O. Green, since this sketch was read, wrote a note to the author, saying: "I find the following records"—presumably in his private diary:

"July 15, 1833. The town refused to license a theatre.

"November 11, 1833. We have been holding a town meeting all day, at which more than one thousand votes have been cast. The true State officers were all elected. We had four separate tickets for Representatives—the National Republican, Jackson, Liberal and Workingmen. Only one Representative was elected—Mr. Samuel Howard. The Liberals are a new party, got up for their attachment to the Lowell Theatre. In July preceeding, this was put down by public opinion, but to-day it was tested again. The vote confirmed the previous decision. There were 393 votes in favor and 595 against. They say the subject shall be brought up at every town meeting till their point is gained. This made a split in the National Republicans, and the Jackson men profit by the division. The meeting was adjourned late the following day for choice of other Representatives."

Still later (in 1836) about thirty of the most promising young men in the place, interested in histrionic art, associated themselves together for the purpose of forming an organization called the Thespian Club, to give gratuitous entertainments to the public. They leased the hall formerly occupied by the Masonic fraternity, in the brick block at the junction of Merrimack and Worthen Streets, and arranged the stage with all the necessary appliances to ensure successful exhibitions. The most prominent members of this company were Perez Fuller, leading actor; Brooks Bradley, tragedian; John Wellington and a Mr. Stone, comedians; and T. T. Ordway, delineator of female characters, supported by John Sweetser, Moses Winn, William T. G. Pierce, Luther Convers (afterward captain of the Highlanders), Joseph Ripley, Kelsey Moore, Miss Willis, Miss Seymour and Miss Eaton—the latter a lady who afterward attained celebrity. After a short time some of the members becoming dissatisfied with the assignments of characters, refused to pay their assessments and withdrew, leaving the others to meet the liabilities incurred. As quite a debt had been created, it was thought advisable by the management to charge the small admission fee of twenty-five cents, which resulted in procuring funds to cancel their obligations, after which the company disbanded, leaving all their stage paraphernalia to adorn a neighboring piggery.

An amusing incident is related regarding the realistic acting of this company. A terrific sword-combat was introduced in one of the acts of the play which was being performed, and just as one of the heroes was about ending the earthly career of his opponent, two young ladies who had been engaged to support the

troupe that evening, fled from the stage with horror depicted upon their countenances, leaving Mr. Ordway (who had assumed an important female role) to receive alone the applause which followed his recognition.

On one occasion an original play was produced. It was written by Mr. Clapp, assistant teacher of the High School when the principal was Thomas M. Clarke, now Bishop of Rhode Island. Mr. Fuller took the part of Henry VI., and that of Prince Edward was given to a High School lad of fourteen years, who, recently, when nearly sixty years of age, sent me fragments of the play, which are all his memory retains of that excellent production. This really was the first amateur theatrical organization that appeared in our city, and although other clubs subsequently acquired quite respectable reputations here, none have exceeded, or even equalled the old Thespian in point of dramatic ability.

The next attempt to establish a permanent place for theatricals occurred in 1840, when Mr. Moses Kimball, of Boston, fitted up the fourth story of the stone building (Wyman's Exchange), corner of Merrimack and Central Streets, for a museum. The collection of curiosities consisted of pictures, wax statuary, and selections of natural history, from the New England Museum, Boston. In the course of a year a stage was erected for light entertainments such as dioramas, magical performances, etc., but no legitimate dramatic performances were attempted. The most noted celebrities who appeared here were Adelaide Phillipps and Freeman, the giant. As the museum did not prove remunerative, it was closed for a while, and finally disposed of (in 1845) to Mr. Noah F. Gates, who took possession in October, 1846. Soon afterwards Mr. Gates

leased the Freewill Baptist Church building (on the opposite side of the street) of Henry Reed for three years, from January 1, 1847, at a rental of eight hundred dollars per annum.

The attempt to introduce dramatic entertainments in the old church edifice aroused the indignation of those who formerly worshipped there, and such a pressure was brought to bear upon the City Council that they refused to grant a license for such purposes. A long petition signed by many of the most prominent citizens was presented to the Council to influence their decisions, and at a hearing in regard to it, John P. Robinson and Thomas Hopkinson appeared for the petitioners, and Rev. Messrs. Thurston and True for the remonstrants. This hearing terminated in obtaining a license, and the theatre flourished under the management of Mr. Gates until April, 1850, when he applied to the Legislature for an act of incorporation for a stock company with a capital of \$60,000, the officers of which were Noah F. Gates, president; W. A. Richardson, clerk; G. L. Pollard, treasurer, who were also directors, associated with B. H. Weaver, F. A. Hildreth, A. B. French and Henry Reed.

The new arrangement opened under favorable auspices with the following dramatic talent, viz: C. G. Graham, W. F. Johnson, R. W. Germon, Messrs. Bland, Reed, W. LaFavre, G. E. Locke, Mr. and Mrs. G. C. Germon, Mr. and Mrs. Altemas, and Miss Emmons. Mr. Johnson (connected with this company) was one of the finest comedians known. Previous to severing his connection with the troupe he was tendered a complimentary benefit, which he accepted, and announced his farewell, October, 15, 1852. His advertisement of the affair was so unique that we give it verbatim :

PROCLAMATION!

WHEREAS, it has become customary, from time immemorial, during the fall of the year, or that portion of the season which precedes sleigh-rides, oyster suppers, balls, colds, rheumatics, etc., to appoint a day and evening of general thanksgiving, and pray that we may be blessed with the means to enjoy the one and have the good luck to escape the other, I hereby, with the advice and consent of my numerous councillors and friends—and, moreover, as such matter seems to escape the memory of Brother Boutwell, much to the indignation, it appears, of the ladies of the numerous corporations—appoint next Monday evening as a time and place for a general jollification, amusement and beneficial enjoyment of all parties without regard to the all-absorbing topic of who shall be President, to take place at the Lowell Museum, where a grand mass-meeting will be held, it is hoped, to test their approbation of the Governor's proceedings in the present dearth of fun and amusement.

Given at our council chamber, the same old attic, 56 American House, this sixth of October, in the year of our Lord, 1852.

WILLIAM F. JOHNSON, Governor.

HOOKEY WALKER, Secretary of State.

God Save the United States of America!

This literary effusion secured Mr. Johnson the honorable title of "Governor," which followed him all through a Southern tour, and led some of the local Southern papers into the error of announcing the appearance of a distinguished Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.

Soon after this the building was struck by lightning, and (in 1853) it was burned, with the stuffed elephant, wax figures of Queen Elizabeth, White and his murderers, and other monstrosities, including oil portraits of all the Presidents, which had been painted for five dollars a head by a prominent young artist who has never had occasion to regret that great loss to art.

December 14, 1853, an amateur organization known as the Aurora Club, hired a hall in the third story of

a brick block on Merrimack Street, now owned by Mr. Edward Garner. Shortly after eight o'clock, just before the play commenced—the room being crowded with about two hundred people—the floor gave way, precipitating the entire audience into the story below. A stove filled with burning coals descended with the audience, occasioning an alarm of fire, but the presence of mind of a few individuals averted what might have been a sad calamity. No serious injury was inflicted, although several individuals received severe bruises.

During the year 1866 Mr. Henry Emery remodelled his hotel, and converted the westerly portion into an opera house, opening it August 1st, with an inaugural vocal and instrumental concert, under the direction of Mr. Charles Koppitz, leader of the Boston Theatre Orchestra. Nearly all the numerous dramatic troupes, and the stars of any magnitude, have appeared upon these boards. But, owing to its somewhat diminutive character, the place does not meet our present requirements.

What Lowell needs and demands is a first-class opera house of sufficient capacity to accommodate the public, and we trust the time is not far distant when a suitable edifice will be erected, which will not only reflect credit on our city, but prove a remunerative investment to its proprietors.

Within fifty years there has been in this community quite a change in public sentiment with regard to theatricals. Theatres are not necessarily demoralizing institutions. On the contrary, it only remains for the public to elevate their standard by shunning entertainments of a low or doubtful character, and by patronizing those of the highest class. The theatre then will have an elevating and refining tendency, and the presentation of noble

characters and virtuous, useful lives, may serve as a means of inciting young and old to an imitation of those characters, and to an earnest effort to live such lives.

MR. PEREZ FULLER.

This paper would be incomplete without a brief notice of one who doubtless was more interested in histrionic art and who was a better amateur actor than any other person ever residing in our city. Mr. Perez Fuller, to whom we refer, was born in Kingston, this State, January 11, 1797, and married Miss Newman, who died in 1833, leaving a daughter who became the wife of a minister named Murray. Mr. Fuller established himself in business in Medway, but through the influence of his old friends, Alexander Wright and Royal Southwick, he came to Lowell about 1830, and opened a tailoring establishment on Merrimack Street. Although an exceedingly quiet and unostentatious gentleman, his talents were soon appreciated by a large circle of friends, who prevailed upon him to appear in the Lowell Street Theatre, and also to become one of the prominent members of the Thespian Club. In 1838, when a member of the City Council, and likewise while representing our city in the Legislature, he was induced to appear at a benefit tendered Miss Hildreth (afterwards Mrs. Benjamin F. Butler) at the Tremont Theatre, in Boston, sustaining the role of Michael, in "The Adopted Son," to the satisfaction of a critical audience. Previous to appearing he came to the conclusion that such a transaction would be derogatory to the dignity of the House of Representatives, and so, rather than disappoint the beneficiary, he sent in his resignation.

Previous to his departure for Europe, in 1847, he gave a few concerts in the City Hall, at one of which

he was assisted by his good friend Oliver, of Boston. Among Mr. Oliver's numbers on the programme was "Yankee Doodle." After singing the line, "Yankee Doodle is the tune," he stopped, and quickly turning to Mr. Fuller, who was seated a little in his rear, he said — "Is n't it, Perez?" Mr. Fuller arose, in his courtly way, and in his slow, inimitable manner responded — "Of course it is, Mr. Oliver!" This little episode occasioned considerable merriment among the audience, and a repetition of the song was demanded.

After Mr. Fuller's return from his visit to Europe he presented his claims for patronage in these words :

Perez Fuller, having commenced business at the store No. 1 Savings Bank Building, City Hall Square, Merrimack Street, respectfully invites the attention of his friends and the public to an entire new stock of cloths, cassimeres, doeskins, vestings, etc. Having purchased for cash at the lowest tariff prices, he will be able to execute orders for clothing on the most favorable terms to patrons. He has, during the past season, personally made arrangements with some of the best houses in Paris, London and New York to furnish him from time to time with reports of the most approved styles of cut and workmanship that may prevail at those places. While constantly prepared to furnish garments in the most approved style, he will as usual cheerfully conform to any directions which the convenience of his customers may suggest.

Mr. Fuller had an original way of disposing of captious customers, even if it was not always effective. One of his friends demurred at the charge of \$8 for a pair of pantaloons. "Too much — eight dollars too much!" replied the humorous Mr. Fuller; "why, sir, you can buy them anywhere for six!" Another intimate friend ordered a coat made, which was found to be too small, so it was returned with directions to "let it out." After a few days the owner called for the garment, and was informed by Mr. Fuller that he had

strictly complied with his directions and had "let it out" to Mr. Barrett, conductor on the Boston and Lowell Railroad.

Mr. Fuller was not only a good actor, comic singer and elocutionist, but he also possessed considerable poetic talent. At a Fourth of July celebration in Pelham, in 1833, when Dr. Israel Hildreth delivered the oration and Henry Reed, proprietor of the hotel, furnished the dinner, Mr. Fuller sang an original song containing many happy allusions to different members of the Phalanx (a military company of this city) which had been invited to be present to perform escort duty on the occasion. He likewise wrote a hymn for the dedication services of the Unitarian Church, which was pronounced by some of the committee superior to the one accepted. At various other times he indulged in verse, always inditing something appropriate for the occasion.

The many accomplishments of Mr. Fuller made him a valuable acquisition to society, and no party or social gathering was complete without his presence. His store was the resort of a number of intimate friends, who delighted to impose upon his good nature merely for the purpose of enjoying his sarcastic or witty retorts. He never appeared conscious of doing anything or of uttering a word calculated to provoke a smile, and yet his humorous observations are remembered and related by his old friends as gems worthy of almost immortal fame.

But it would require too much time to collect and relate all the good things credited to Mr. Fuller. Those who knew him will bear witness to his appreciation of the humorous, and to his possession of all those acquirements necessary to make a good citizen and valuable friend. His last illness—an attack of typhoid fever,

accompanied with dysentery — was terminated by death, at his residence, on Tyler Street, September 3, 1866. The funeral services, held in the Unitarian Church, conducted by Rev. Frederick Hinckley, were attended by all the merchant tailors of the city, and his old friends, Messrs. Adam Putnam, Isaac Farrington, William C. Gray and Edwin C. Rice acted as pall-bearers. His remains were interred in his lot, which is situated upon elevated land on Path 62, in the southeasterly part of the Lowell Cemetery. But very few of his surviving friends recognize the neglected, barren spot, which is without a stone to indicate the place where his remains repose.

Surely those should be considered public benefactors whose pleasant words, written or spoken, make us forget, for a time at least, our troubles, real or imaginary; and to those who have shed a ray of light on our path by their genial humor and fund of wit — who have pleased the mind and healed the body, driving away dyspepsia and despondency, making us “laugh and grow fat” — we owe a debt of gratitude; and this debt Mr. Fuller’s old friends should repay by the erection of a monument to his memory.

Since the preceding sketch was read, the writer has been favored with the following interesting facts concerning the drama in the early days of Lowell, by Mr. E. B. Howe, of the Association, who was personally identified with much that he has described. —

The first dramatic performance in Lowell, by local talent, occurred in a school-house which stood near the south-east corner of the site of the Baptist Church, on Church Street. The teacher of the school (a Mr. Flint)

encouraged some of the pupils to memorize and recite extracts from plays, and other friends prompted them to give a public exhibition, and accordingly one was given, in the school-house. The entertainment consisted of scenes from "Pizarro," with the following cast of characters: Rolla, A. Jackson Butler; Sentinel, Dexter Eaton; Elvira, Miss Martha Moore; Cora, Miss Mary Eaton; with Gustavus V. Fox, George Fox and H. K. Moore in appropriate parts.

The performance was repeated the next evening. Encouraged by their success, the Masters and Misses who took part in it joined with others, and formed the Lowell Dramatic Society. The following-named persons embraces nearly all of the members, at the time of its organization: Philip Stewart, Charles Stanley, George W. Stanley, Phineas Stanley, Henry Wales, John Wellington, Charles Stanwood, Luther Conner, J. Brooks Bradley, Hugh K. Moore, Dexter Eaton, Joseph B. Ripley, Peter Renton Moore, Martha Moore, Mary A. Leonard, Mary Eaton, Adeline Bradley, Mary A. Eldridge. Musicians: Samuel C. Moore, violin; Joseph Nason, flute; Edward B. Howe, violoncello.

After the necessary preparations and rehearsals, Concert Hall (now the site of H. Hosford & Co.'s elegant store) having been properly fitted up, was the scene of the first performance by the Society, and the first play presented was "Rudolph; or, The Robbers of Calabria," with the following cast, in part: Rudolph, Philip Stewart; Count Albert, Charles Stanley; Paulo, Charles Stanwood; Rozalia, Miss M. Moore. A song, by Master J. B. Ripley, followed the play, and the performance closed with a rehearsal of "Roderick Dhu," by Messrs. Stewart and Moore.

The entertainments given, at different times later, by the Lowell Dramatic Society, embraced the following: "Pizarro," "Damon and Pythias," "Rudolph," "Family Jars," "The Turnpike Gate," "The Boarding House," "The Cork Leg," with appropriate songs on each evening by Miss Moore and Masters J. Brooks Bradley and Joseph B. Ripley. Master Bradley sang sentimental and patriotic songs, and also had conspicuous parts as an actor, while Master Ripley was the low comedian and comic singer.

The following was the cast for the performance of "Pizarro" when performed at Concert Hall: Pizarro, Philip Stewart; Rolla, Charles Stanley; Almagio, H. K. Moore; Dorilla, H. Wales; Orazembo, G. W. Stanley; Gomez, P. Stanley; Valverd, J. B. Ripley; Sentinel, Charles Stanwood; King Attaliba, ——— Richardson; Alonzo, J. B. Bradley; Elvira, Miss Moore; Cora, Miss Eaton. The play was followed by a duet, entitled "Polly Hopkins and Tommy Tompkins," by Miss Moore and Master Ripley. The closing piece for the evening was "The Boarding-House," Phineas Stanley assuming the part of the Admiral and H. Wales that of Peter Fidget.

Some of the songs introduced at the performances of the Society are remembered to have been "Polly Hopkins and Tommy Tompkins," "Harry Bluff," "Mr. York, you're Wanted," "Bay of Biscay," "The Soldier's Tear," "Barney Bralligan," "King of the Cannibal Islands," "Adam and Eve," "Jim Crow," etc.

While this Dramatic Society was giving their entertainments a company of professional players were performing in a hall in rear of the stone church on Appleton Street. Among the performers there were Charles Rounds, low comedian and extravaganza singer, and Mr. and Mrs. Keiser, Miss Julia Clement and at times

a Mr. and Mrs. Goodnow, Mr. and Mrs. Gale and a Mrs. Conway. Many if not all of this company of players boarded with Mr. Benjamin Moore, the father of Miss Martha Moore, and from them Miss Moore obtained many valuable hints in regard to enacting the parts which she assumed in the Lowell Dramatic Society; Miss Clement, in particular, gave her much aid in the details of stage action.

I remember having seen this company perform the following plays at the hall designated above: "The Heir at Law," "The Spectre Bridegroom; or, A Ghost in Spite of Himself," "The Manager in Distress," "The Iron Chest," and "The Lottery Ticket." It is said there were at times "scenes" enacted by some of the players not announced on the bills of the day, and that Keiser's violent conduct toward his wife was the cause of their separation. Mr. Rounds for a long time nightly performed the extravaganza of "Jim Crow" at this Theatre; and Master Ripley, at the performances of the Dramatic Society imitated, if he did not excel him, in this particular line. The verses for that particular piece were frequently improvised, or made on "the spur of the moment," and were intended for local hits at everybody and everything. On one occasion Mr. Rounds made a pointed allusion to the rival "Jim Crow," of the Dramatic Society; consequently at the next performance of the Society, Master Ripley retaliated. It may not be amiss here to give a few specimen verses of the retort, and also a quotation from another, then popular humorous and satirical song of that time, to show in some degree what amused and entertained the theatre-goers of the period of which I write. The song of "Jim Crow," first given in New York and Boston the season before by Thomas D. Rice (then best known as "Jim Crow Rice")

was the rage all over the country; hence its popularity then in Lowell. Master Ripley's retort on Mr. Rounds, which was received with great enthusiasm, was as follows:

Now, old Jim Crow, the other night,
 Did prove himself so cute,
 I think it is no more than right
 That I should follow suit.
 Wheel about and turn about.
 And do just so, etc.

He says that I can't run him down
 A-singing of Jim Crow;
 I know I can't, for he's down now
 As low as he can go.
 Wheel about, etc.

Da play up in de cellar;
 Da play of drinkin' hard;
 I t'ink da'd better go and play
 In Dracut Navy Yard.
 Wheel about, etc.

Old K—— broke his cane—
 It happened de other day;
 It happened over his wife's head,
 And he happened to run away.
 Wheel about, etc.

Las' night was Mrs. Gale's benefit.
 Up under Morse's Hall.
 They counted fifty tickets,
 And the benefit was small.
 Wheel about, etc.

The song of "Adam and Eve" was also very popular all over the country at this time. A few verses will serve as a specimen of the whole:

I sing to you of ancient days,
 Of ancient fashions and ancient ways,
 When people had no toils nor cares
 And sat on stools instead of chairs.
 REFRAIN.—Sing heigh-ho! I grieve, I grieve.
 For the good old days of Adam and of Eve.

O, dear!—O, dear! how I dream now;
 Everything, it goes by steam now.
 In my young days, when I was little,
 The only steam came from the tea-kettle.
 Sing heigh-ho, etc.

The dandies then looked slim and pale,
 (Now they look hearty, fresh and hale);
 Their voices sounded like a squeaking fiddle;
 They were small as a wasp around their middle.
 Sing heigh-ho, etc.

The dandies now wear stays and laces,
 Horses' girths around their *waistes*.
 Times are not as times have been;
 Father "laced" me with a cow-skin.
 Sing heigh-ho, etc.

Sometimes at the performances of the Dramatic Society instead of "A Song, by Master Bradley," or "A Duet, by Miss Moore and Master Ripley," the announcement would be "The Rival Jim Crows, by Messrs. Ripley and Eaton." On such occasions, although Eaton was some little older and nearly twice as large as Ripley, he was no match for him in wit and repartee, and for half an hour the audience seemed to think that they had had their "money's worth" in listening to the wit and fun of the "rivals" alone.

I cannot give the exact dates of any of the exhibitions of the "Dramatic Society," but one date can be fixed accurately if any one can tell when the great "Union Ball" took place at the City Hall—an event of no small interest at the time; for "Pizarro" was performed that night, and some of the performers went to the ball, after the play was over. I know that two of the musicians on that occasion also "hooked" into the ball.

The last exhibition of the Society was given in a hall in "Barnes' Folly," and the play was "Damon and Pythias," with the following cast, as near as can be recollected: Damon, P. Stuart; Pythias, Charles Stanley; Procles, H. K. Moore; Dyoninus, B. Bradley; Damocles, Henry Wales; Lucullus, Luther Conner; Boy, Peter Renton Moore; Calantha, Miss M. A. Leonard; Hermion, Miss Martha Moore. The admission fee was twenty-five cents, and there was a good attendance.

Perhaps, in recalling the events and scenes of fifty years ago, they may have a seeming importance that a just criticism would not justify. But that the Lowell Dramatic Society was made up of bright, intelligent, well-behaved persons, belonging in good and respectable families, everybody in the city knew. That they played well in their several parts was shown by the closely packed audiences which always greeted them. That there was much real talent in several of the performers is shown when we see that Miss Eaton adopts the profession of an actress, and as Mrs. Woodward became a quite distinguished actress at the National Theatre in Boston and in other theatres. Miss Moore exhibited so much dramatic talent that George Barrett and John Gilbert, of Boston, made a special but unsuccessful visit to Lowell to induce her father to permit her to study for the stage, under their personal supervision and guardianship, predicting for her high rank and fortune as the result.

About 1833—I am not quite sure of the year—a company of professionals played six consecutive weeks in the brick building at the corner of Merrimack and Worthen Streets, now owned by Dr. Gilman Kimball. I was all the time a member of the orchestra, playing nightly. The hall had been for some years previously occupied for the meetings of the Masonic fraternity.

Many people of Lowell remember that J. Brooks Bradley was a good singer on the stage, and performed many times at the Old Lowell Museum in later years.

Charles Stanley was an excellent "Rolla," and to my youthful imagination an equal of Forrest. He was an energetic business man; at one time he commanded the Lowell Phalanx; held a position in one of the mills

at Lawrence; subsequently removed to the West, and there died not many years ago.

George W. Stanley grew up here, married, held a responsible position in the service of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills for many years, was esteemed and honored by all who knew him. He died October, 1878.

Philip Stewart had a large share of dramatic talent. His performance of "Damon" was equal to that of any professional. He was in youth employed at the Lowell Machine Shop. Later on he was in business in Billerica, where he died about four years ago.

Joseph B. Ripley was a printer by trade. In his youth and prime of life he was considered one of the skilled ones of the craft. Like many others who stand at the "case," he evidently improved well his opportunities for obtaining knowledge; for after working several years in the different offices in Lowell, we find him editor and proprietor of a paper in Worcester. It is not known whether the paper was a success or not; but he afterwards came to Lowell and found employment as a journeyman. He enlisted during the war of the rebellion, and bore a good record for faithful and honorable service. He was of a generous disposition, courteous and polite to every one, well read in general literature and current politics, witty, and possessed an abundant flow of language, and it was his pride to render it precise and elegant. As an actor, printer, editor, soldier and gentleman, he will long be remembered, and his good traits will, I trust, overshadow whatever errors and misfortunes may have marred any portion of his life.

Luther Connor is living in Boston. In his youth he painted the "scenes" for the Dramatic Society, and now, with his left hand, he wields the brush to gratify his taste and earn his living. He lost his right hand many years ago.

Hugh K. Moore is living in Malden, a prosperous business man, for several years manager of the American Steam Gauge Company; has an interesting family, wife, sons and daughters, all of whom are gifted with music in a marked degree.

Joseph Nason was an excellent player on the flute and a genius in everything; a superior scholar; could write sensible poetry; was a natural mechanic; a good draftsman; an inventor. He was, I think, the founder of the house of Walworth & Nason, in Boston, manufacturers of piping and gas fixtures. He subsequently moved to New York and established a large business of the same kind there. He died about five years since.

Miss Moore (now Mrs. Joseph Raynes), to whom I am indebted for many of the facts concerning the Dramatic Society, is still living in Lowell, enjoying the evening of her life in the possession of good health, with her children and grand-children around and with her. She retains to a remarkable degree her memory of the events of her youth, and delights to recall and live them over again, even though nearly all of her associates have made their final exit.

XX. *Elisha Glidden, by Hon. John A. Knowles.*
Read November 8, 1882.

“Tread lightly o'er his grave, ye men of virtue, for he was your brother.
Weed his grave clean, ye men of learning, for he was your kinsman.”

It is difficult to give the character of an individual unless you know something of his early proclivities and the historical facts of his childhood and youth, for, as it has been well said, “the child is father of the man.” My acquaintance with Elisha Glidden commenced in 1827. December 10, 1827, I took a seat in his office, first as student and clerk, afterwards as sharer of his profits. The next year I went to board with him, and continued with him until within a few months of five years. From the college records of Dartmouth College I learn that he entered college, and graduated in 1815. He was born in Unity, N. H., in 1789. After graduating he first studied law, I think, in Dover, N. H., for a time, but afterwards went to Boston and entered the office of Mr. Hubbard, late a Justice of our Supreme Court. He continued there until he entered the Bar, which I think was in 1818 or '19. In 1820 he was invited to go to Townsend, Mass., to take charge of the legal business of Col. Walter Hastings. Col. Hastings graduated at Harvard in 1799; was appointed Colonel in 1812, and took his regiment to an island in Boston Harbor. After the war he returned to Townsend and took up his profession of law, but was taken sick and

obliged to retire from business, and Elisha Glidden was called to take charge of his large docket. In 1821 Col. Hastings died, and Mr. Glidden continued, finishing up his legal business and aiding Mrs. Hastings in settling up her husband's estate. Col. Hastings left four children, over all of whom Elisha Glidden was appointed guardian. He continued in Townsend until 1823, when he, Mrs. Hastings and her children, moved to Boston. He remained there until 1826, when he married Mrs. Hastings, and afterwards moved to Lowell.

He took an office in the southerly end of a wooden block standing where the Appleton Block now stands; his office was directly over the present banking rooms of the Appleton National Bank, and he occupied with his family a building on the land of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, nearly opposite his office. The building he occupied was sold long since and moved down Church Street, and was for a long time the residence of the late Deacon Tapley. Mr. Glidden continued to live in the house above named until the autumn of 1828, when he moved into his new home at the corner of Gorham and Appleton Streets. Major Josiah Sawtell having come to town, made a contract with Mr. Glidden to erect him a building on the afore-named lot, and completed it in the autumn of 1828. This was the first house erected by that well-known builder, Major Josiah Sawtell. The garden of Mr. Glidden is now occupied by that large brick block lately erected by our worthy Mayor Runels. The house formerly erected for Mr. Glidden stands next west of Mr. Runels' large block, and is owned by John McAleer. Mr. Glidden continued his practice in the old wooden building until the Middlesex Company wanted that part of the land to erect a brick block, and Mr. Glidden, having formed a co-partnership

with Luther Lawrence, moved across Central Street and took an office in the Hamilton brick block, so called. He remained there until the Middlesex Company had completed their block, when he moved back again, and the Railroad Bank, having been chartered, was established in the southerly end of the block formerly occupied by Elisha Glidden, and Lawrence & Glidden took an office in the rooms next north of that. In the mean time Mr. Glidden had become enfeebled by a severe attack of pleurisy which he took when attending Court at Cambridge. He becoming quite ill, his physician advised him to take a journey into the country, and he invited me to go with him. We took a buggy and passed up through Nashua, Francestown, Hillsboro' and on to Claremont, N. H., where we stopped with an elder brother of his, who was a trader there. Here we tarried a few days, when we went to Unity to visit his brother Gen. Erastus Glidden. After paying him a visit of a few days we passed down the river, through Brattleboro', to Greenfield, Mass., and after remaining there two or three days we passed to Leicester, Worcester and Concord, Mass., and then returned home to Lowell. Mr. Glidden was a very accurate and careful conveyancer, and drew all kinds of legal papers with much taste. He was very quick to discover any defect in any legal paper, and seized with much readiness any important matter pertaining to his profession. He once had a client in Tewksbury, I think, who was desirous to refer his case which he had in court, and applied to Mr. Glidden in a great deal of trouble about its reference, saying, "I would like to refer my action, but my opponent refuses to refer to any persons unless they are deacons in a church, and I don't want to refer my suit to any person who does not understand law." To which Mr. Glidden immediately replied, "We can fix that well enough,

for I know two good lawyers who are deacons." To which the client replied, "I never knew lawyers could be deacons." "Oh, yes," replied Mr. Glidden, "Joseph Locke and Joel Adams are both deacons, and very good lawyers, too." The client then replied, "I am glad you told me. We will have them; please draw the papers and we will refer the case." Mr. Glidden accordingly drew the papers for referring the case, and Messrs. Locke and Adams soon settled the difficulty. Mr. Glidden was a close financier, but was a high-minded and honorable man in his transactions. He once proposed to purchase a lot of land on the southerly side of Appleton Street, covered with a stone ledge, from eighteen inches to three feet in height. The proprietors offered it to him very low, as it was a hard ledge to remove. He took me up to the lot and wanted my opinion about it, and I informed him that I would give him my opinion if he would give me one-eighth of all he made on it. To which he replied, "I will do it." I then told him to purchase the lot by all means, and by the aid of William Livingston I had no doubt he would make it a profitable bargain. He purchased the lot and after Mr. Livingston had removed the ledge he sold it at an advance of \$2400, one-eighth of which was \$300, and although I never asked for it, he put it in on our settlements, and said it was justly due me. He was a man of great simplicity of character, and although I could not see any consideration for the \$300, as I ran no risk in the transaction, yet he thought, undoubtedly, that my opinion was worth something, and chose to allow it.

Mr. Glidden was of a very equable disposition and in the five years I resided at his house, I have no recollection of ever seeing him excited, by anger or passion. He was always industrious and prudent in the expenditure

of money, and yet was as charitable as people generally in his position. He was not rich, but continued to save money during his nine years of practice in Lowell, and left, I should think, from \$30,000 to \$40,000. Elisha Glidden was peculiarly attached to his family, including not only his own daughter, but his several step-children. I may say he was peculiarly under the influence of his affections. His only daughter survived him several years. She was very agreeable, but exceedingly frail. She died early, after having married a distinguished naval officer. Mr. Glidden was late in college and probably aided his father upon his farm, as he did not graduate until he was twenty-five years of age. He was a very careful practitioner and for a long time attended to the business of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River. He frequently met Kirk Boott, Esq., with whom he did a great deal of business. Mr. Glidden engaged in very little litigation, as that kind of business was not to him the most profitable, and I think not to his taste. He was a contemporary of Hon. Nathaniel Wright, John R. Adams (who have long since passed away), and afterwards Hon. Seth Ames, John P. Robinson, Tappen Wentworth and others. He took an interest in establishing the Railroad Bank at the corner of Central and Hurd Streets, he being one of the Directors, and Luther Lawrence, his partner, the first President of the Bank. He was afterwards connected with Hon. Thomas Hopkinson, who continued with Mr. Glidden as long as he was able to attend to duty. Mr. Glidden was surrounded by a number of profitable clients, among them being Mansur & Reed, General Sawtell, William Livingston and many others.* Erastus Glidden, Esq., was

*In the diary of our respected President is this record: At a meeting holden in Hamilton Counting Room, May 5, 1829, of Lowell Institution for Savings, Samuel Batchel-

the executor, and I think also the guardian of the daughter. Of the family of Col. Hastings, now remain only Henry Hastings, Esq., of Boston, and Catherine, a daughter.

der was elected President, but declined, upon which Elisha Glidden was duly elected to the office, and served till his death, April 2, 1835, his attendance the last year being often prevented by sickness. May 5, 1835, Theodore Edson was chosen, and continues in office.

XXI. History of Central Bridge, by Alfred Gilman. Read November 8, 1882.

UNDER the date of 1737, Allen's History of Chelmsford says: "Road from Hunt's to Clark's Ferry, south side of Merrimack, laid out by order of the Court of Sessions."

Hunt's Ferry was afterwards called Bradley's Ferry, which crossed the Merrimack River at Bridge Street. The road on the Dracut or northerly side was called Ferry Lane. The ferry was probably owned by Joseph Bradley, and for a time kept by his brother, Nehemiah, who had a little shop on the Dracut side, where he manufactured boots and shoes. Previous to this time James and Stephen Puffer were the ferrymen. James was the father of A. D. Puffer and Stephen the father of J. F. Puffer, both well known citizens to-day, and members of this Association. How long previous to 1737 this ferry had been established is uncertain. The Chelmsford grant was made May 19, 1653; Dracut was incorporated in 1701, and the probability is that it was established soon after the latter event was consummated. The ferry boat was kept on the northerly side of the river, obliging the traveller on the southerly side, intending to cross, to blow a horn or shout, to attract the ferryman's attention. Clark's Ferry was at Middlesex Village. The road to it is still open (a little north of the hotel), for the convenience of a railroad station. The manner of propelling

the ferry boat was a rope or chain stretched from shore to shore. Miss Louisa W. Bradley says on one occasion, when she and her mother were crossing in the boat, the chain broke and the boat floated down river.

February 24, 1825, the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act to incorporate the Central Bridge Corporation. The incorporators were Joseph Bradley, Ezekiel Cheever, Abijah Fox, Ezekiel Fox and Peter Heaselton—the tolls to be the same as the tolls at Pawtucket bridge. The Legislature had the right, at the expiration of eighteen years, to regulate anew the tolls. Under certain conditions the property was to revert to the Commonwealth, or whenever the inhabitants of the towns of Dracut and Chelmsford should remunerate said proprietors for the expense of said bridge (deducting what may have been received for tolls) the same might be opened free of toll. When the bridge was built, the clerk of the proprietors thereof was required to make a return into the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of the actual expense of building the same, and at the expiration of eighteen years the clerk was required to make a return, stating the amount of the receipts, expenditures and dividends during the said term of time.

I call attention to these terms because on the compliance with, and construction of them, the whole contest for the possession of the bridge turned. They seem plain and clear to an ordinary business man, to call for no extraordinary ability in their settlement, and yet it took seven or eight years to effect that object.

Mr. William Kittredge's recollections of the building of Central Bridge were related to me some years since and I preserved them :

“In the year 1822-'23 it became necessary to rebuild the locks at the foot of the canal near Concord

River, in the vicinity of the American House. It was a work requiring great skill, judgment and some experience. The timber of which the old locks were erected was all to be removed, excavation to the depth of forty feet was to be made, and the new locks were to be constructed of stone of the largest capacity, shaped and jointed so as to be impervious to water.

“Mr. Boott was fortunate in securing the services of Luke S. Rand to do this work. He was a native of Vermont, possessed of a large farm, well stocked with cattle and producing an abundance of hay and vegetables. When he came down from Vermont to commence operations the procession of his oxen, the cart-loads of hay and grain, and his teams appeared to the astonished natives more like the procession of a caravan than the material of a job-taker. He was a man of his word — prompt, energetic and yet a keen observer of human nature.

“At this time wheels for the transportation of stone weighing eight and ten tons to the single block were unknown. Mr. Rand had a pair fourteen feet in diameter, which caused quite a sensation. People from all the adjacent towns visited the scene of his operations to view the working of the monster wheels, and were astonished to witness the ease with which he handled such immense weights.

“While Mr. Rand was building the locks referred to, the question arose as to the feasibility of constructing a bridge across the Merrimack at what was called Bradley’s Ferry. Soundings had been made, and it was thought impracticable to erect a bridge in that locality, on account of the depth of the water on the Chelmsford side of the river. It was found to be thirty-two feet deep. Mr. Rand’s opinion was asked, and he told them that “as soon as he could arrange for it, after constructing the

the locks, he would throw a little bridge over the river for them." Encouraged by this opinion, where so much doubt had been expressed before, they engaged him to do the work.

"He sounded the river from shore to shore and proceeded to make a large raft, capable of sustaining the weight of quite a number of tons. This raft he moored over the spot where he intended to erect his pier, and held it there with anchors.* The stone of which the pier was to be constructed he carefully selected for its dimensions, being of the largest size he could obtain. These he conveyed to his raft in scows, and having deposited the first layer, he then added another course of stone and bound the two with iron clamps, every stone being secured by a clamp to the next one, thus securing an inseparable mass that would stand any shock or strain. As the weight was added upon the raft the whole mass would sink, until finally it touched the bottom. It did not stop there, but sank in the mud to the depth of four or five feet, carrying timbers and stone below the bed of the river. There that pier remains to the present day, evidence of the thorough workmanship of Mr. Rand. The iron work was all forged at the shop of Joseph G. Kittredge."

The discrepancy between this account and the fact as revealed by the recent displacement of the piers of the old bridge is, what is called a raft turns out to be a crib, built of heavy timbers one above another, to the number of eight or ten, dove-tailed at the ends and fastened with long wooden pins, bearing the shape intended for the piers. These were sunk and filled full with stone and gravel. On this superstructure the stones were laid

*The divers employed to remove the wood work of the old piers discovered an extra crib not far from one of the piers, of which it is supposed Mr. Rand lost control. It is about five feet under water.

and the up-river ends protected and bound together with straps of iron. I learn that the iron work was added in 1862. It is an interesting and noteworthy fact that this timber, that has been under water fifty-six years, comes up as sound as it was the day it was submerged.

Under the date of December 15, 1826, the Merrimack Journal has the following :

NEW BRIDGE.

The Central Bridge now erecting across the Merrimack at this place, is so nearly completed as to be passable. It is built on the principle of the brace and the arch, is five hundred feet in length, and stands on the abutments and two piers. The span of the centre arch is one hundred and eighty feet, of the two outer arches one hundred and sixty feet each. The travelled way is divided into two parts, with the walks on each side. The timbers are all secured from water. The work appears to have been judiciously planned by the architect, Luke S. Rand, Esq., and handsomely executed under his direction. The expense of erecting it will probably amount to \$16,000; but the rapid growth of this place warrants the conclusion that the enterprising proprietors will find it a profitable investment of capital. Two stage coaches cross it daily already, one to Haverhill and Dover and one to Londonderry.

According to the answer of the Central Bridge Corporation at the April term of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1855, it is said that the bridge "is five hundred and forty feet in length," that the "actual expense" of building said bridge, according to the return made by the clerk and filed October 15, 1829 (almost three years after its completion), was \$22,128.25.

March 10, 1832, the proprietors obtained an act of the legislature authorizing the Corporation to "compound tolls" to passengers. Prior to this time influential directors of the Bridge Corporation had purchased the most eligible lands in Centralville, including what was known as the "Bradley Farm," and under authority of

this act the Board of Directors contracted with the owners that thenceforth all persons living on any of their lands, and all persons going to any of their lands on the business of the owner, should have the right to pass the bridge free of toll.

It is evident that the inhabitants of Dracut felt that some injustice had been allowed and should be corrected. At the town meeting held in Dracut, March 4, 1833, it was "voted that our Representatives suspend all further operations in the General Court against the proprietors of Central Bridge, provided said proprietors give them satisfactory assurance that said Corporation will reduce their tolls to the town of Dracut, as proposed by the agent of said Corporation, to wit: to one-half of what said Corporation now take; in case of half-cents, these to be given to the Corporation."

March 26, 1833, the proprietors voted to comply with the demand of Dracut, on account of the great expense of keeping the roads in repair leading to and from Central Bridge, on condition that Dracut shall "stop all further proceedings on their part against this Corporation."

March 28, 1833, the directors having made their lands free of tolls, by their procurement, the legislature repealed the act to compound tolls, and authorized the Central Bridge Corporation to reduce their tolls to correspond with those established at Pawtucket bridge.

April 1, 1833, at a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Dracut, after having ascertained that the town would lose none of its rights, as set forth in the original charter of the bridge, the town voted to accept the offer of the Corporation.

At that time Dracut was much more interested in bridge matters than Lowell. Its territory extended to

the northerly end of the bridge. It was a territory sparsely populated but constantly increasing in value, a fact thoroughly appreciated by the proprietors of the bridge. They testify that less than forty of the three hundred shares of stock remained in the hands of the original owners. The new proprietors were men of means, and the temptation to acquire a title to the land on that side of the river was too great to be resisted. Concessions in the matter of tolls to those who would buy or reside on land belonging to them, was no doubt winked at and allowed.

From April, 1833, to October 31, 1842, the inhabitants of Dracut rested quiet in regard to the management of the bridge; at any rate the town in its corporate capacity did not trouble it, although there may have existed among the people a feeling of dissatisfaction. At the last named date, however, two articles were inserted in the warrant for the town meeting, first: "To see what measures the town will take to reduce the toll on Central Bridge," and second: "To see if the town will vote to petition the legislature of this Commonwealth to send out a committee from that honorable body, invested with suitable power to find the amount of money the Central Bridge Corporation have taken by tolls, and by compounding with themselves, or act any other way relative thereto; and also to find the amount of money that has been expended upon Central Bridge, or act any other way relative thereto."

This term "by compounding with themselves" clearly indicates that some action of this kind had come to the knowledge of the people. At the meeting, November 14, 1842, the town instructed its Representative to ascertain at the office of the Secretary of State, and report at the next March meeting the amount of money

taken by, and the expenses of the Central Bridge Corporation; and the Selectmen were also instructed to petition the legislature to reduce the Central Bridge tolls to Pawtucket Bridge rates. After the passage of the act of March 28, 1833, the last mentioned vote would lead any one to infer that the provisions of that act had not been complied with by the Corporation.

Repeated town meetings were held in Dracut during the latter part of 1842 and the early part of 1843; the burthen of their deliberations was to find out the cost and expenses of Central Bridge, and ways and means to obtain a reduction of the tolls. The incentive of all their investigation, however, was to get possession of the bridge under the conditions of the original charter. The proprietors were well aware of this, and they shrewdly forestalled the purpose by procuring the passage of the act of March 23, 1843, giving them authority to reconstruct the bridge; for that purpose assessing the stockholders not exceeding \$9000, and declaring that the sum of \$10,000 of the cost of the bridge remained unpaid, and that that sum, together with the cost of reconstruction should therefore constitute the capital stock. Subsequent investigation disclosed the fact that the declaration in the act of 1843 that \$10,000 of the cost of the original bridge remained unpaid by tolls was untrue, and that in fact the whole cost, with nine per cent. interest, had been repaid; and in 1857 the legislature passed an act declaring that that declaration in the act of 1843 was void. The Supreme Court, however, held that the previous act constituted a contract and was valid and the later act was unconstitutional. This act defined the rate of tolls and abolished the tolls for foot passengers. The bridge was but sixteen years old and should have been in a fair condition. The average yearly dividends, according

to the showing in their own report, to 1843, the time it was rebuilt, was over nine per cent. on \$23,000 cost. If the income over the expenses was more than the amount of the dividends, it would go just so far towards rebuilding without touching the increase of capital. Not satisfied with the increase of \$9000 to the capital, they obtained February 10, 1845, a supplementary act for \$5000 more, being the amount demanded by the excess of cost in rebuilding "and protecting the whole structure by a permanent and substantial covering." This covering was not added until 1849.

It is very evident that there was considerable by-play between Dracut and the proprietors in regard to the acceptance of the rebuilding act. The act was passed March 23, 1843; the directors held a meeting, April 4, and authorized a notice for a meeting of the proprietors April 21. Lowell accepted the act April 5. At the meeting of the proprietors, April 21, Dracut did not come in, at least no notice had been officially received by the Corporation of the fact, and a vote by ballot being taken it stood 26 in favor and 23 against accepting said act. It must be borne in mind that this act was one of their own seeking. The record says: "The meeting was then met by a committee of the town of Dracut, informing them that the town had passed a vote accepting said act." At an adjourned meeting of the proprietors, held the next day, April 22, the vote of the previous day was ratified and confirmed, 45 in favor and 13 opposed. The proprietors say in their answer that they "refused to accept said act and reconstruct said bridge unless said inhabitants of said town of Dracut at a legal meeting would vote to accept said act." The date of the acceptance by Dracut is April 3, 1843.

Up to this time Dracut had the fight pretty much all to itself. To be sure Lowell had contributed largely to populate its territory and swell the receipts of its treasury. People living on the other side of the bridge, while their interests were in Lowell, did not like to go so far to town meeting. Their religious privileges were secured in Lowell, while Dracut could do little for them in the way of education. The question of annexing that portion of Dracut called Centralville to Lowell was agitated in Lowell as early as 1846, and culminated in the act of February 28, 1851, notwithstanding the vote of the citizens, December 9, 1850, at which time the vote was 851 for and 1153 against annexation. The proprietors of the bridge now had a new and active opponent. It is very evident that they relied somewhat on the plea advanced that Lowell had no rights in the bridge; that the original act of incorporation for the Bridge Company conferred certain privileges upon the towns of Chelmsford and Dracut, and they only were entitled to open said bridge free of toll. They forgot that they had recognized the rights and privileges of Lowell when they were so anxious to get its sanction of the act of 1843. When, therefore, Lowell obtained, May 7, 1851, an act "granting certain powers," i. e., the same powers originally conferred on Chelmsford, it was equivalent to a declaration of war, and Lowell struck hands with Dracut with the intent to free Central Bridge.

As early as May 21, 1853, the legislature passed an act authorizing the city of Lowell and the town of Dracut to purchase of the proprietors the bridge over Merrimack River upon such terms as might be agreed upon between the parties. The parties could not agree upon terms. Section third of this act authorized them to enter upon, take and lay out Central Bridge as and for

a town-way or street in the same manner as other streets are laid out, the damages to be assessed and paid in the same way as damages occasioned by the laying out of streets in the City of Lowell.

In 1854 the city petitioned the legislature for an act to authorize the Supreme Court to determine in equity what sum the Bridge Company were entitled to be paid, in order that the bridge might be opened free of toll. This application was strongly opposed by the Bridge Company, Rufus Choate and other counsel appearing in behalf of the Corporation; A. P. Bonney and T. H. Sweetser, the City Solicitor, for the city. The result was the passage of the act of April 29, 1854, drawn by Mr. Bonney, entitled "An act to provide a mode of opening Central Bridge free of toll." It entitled Lowell and Dracut, or either of them, to petition the Supreme Judicial Court to hear and determine, in equity, what sum was due the Central Bridge Corporation, and to order and decree that upon the payment of such sum to the Corporation the bridge shall be opened free of toll.

These acts of the legislature said plainly to the proprietors: Lowell and Dracut want that bridge; they will buy it and pay a fair price for it; if they cannot buy it they will take it and lay it out as a street; and then will ask the Supreme Court to fix the amount of damages to which the Corporation will be entitled.

Upon the passage of the last named act negotiations commenced between the city and the Bridge Corporation for opening the bridge as a free way; but failing of satisfactory results the city commenced proceedings under this act. The cause was argued before the Supreme Court by A. P. Bonney for the city and Rufus Choate for the Bridge Company. The Bridge Company met the case with the dilatory pleading for which equity cases

are famous, and before any decision was rendered by the Court, the city perceiving that long delay was inevitable before the bridge could be made free under this method, instructed Mr. Bonney, who had succeeded Mr. Sweetser as City Solicitor, to prepare proper measures for the laying out of the bridge under the act of 1853, and July 24, 1855, the City Council passed a resolution laying out the bridge as a town-way or street. This act was resisted by the proprietors in every possible way. After its passage, claiming that the proceedings were unconstitutional and illegal, they petitioned for and obtained an injunction restraining the city from taking possession of the bridge. At the first hearing for the dissolution of the injunction before Judges Bigelow (afterwards chief justice) and Metcalf, the two judges were divided on the question, and it went before the full bench, which, after argument, held that the proceedings laying out the bridge as a public highway were legal and dissolved the injunction, and therefore the city took possession of the bridge and opened it to the public as a free highway.

The Bridge Corporation then applied to the County Commissioners for a jury to assess the damages under the highway act, the City Council having awarded them nominal damages of a dollar. Meantime a political change had taken place in the City Government, and the counsel who had hitherto managed the case on the part of the city were discharged and no opposition was made to the granting of the application and a jury was ordered accordingly.

A trial was had before this jury, Sheriff John S. Keyes presiding (Mr. Bonney being again retained by the city on the day of the assembling of the jury, and Gen. Butler at a later stage of the trial), Rufus Choate, D. S. Richardson and Benjamin Dean appearing for the

Bridge Corporation. This trial resulted in a verdict in favor of the Bridge Company of \$16,000 for the bridge, \$4,740.83 for the franchise and \$1002.47 interest, in all \$21,743.30. This verdict was set aside by the Supreme Court on exceptions by the city for erroneous rulings, and instructions given by the sheriff to the jury, and a new trial ordered.

At this trial the counsel for the city were A. P. Bonney and T. H. Sweetser (then City Solicitor); for the Bridge Company, J. G. Abbot, D. S. Richardson and Benjamin Dean; Mr. Choate having died since the previous trial.

The second trial resulted in a verdict of \$17,000, which was set aside by the Supreme Court on exceptions taken by the Bridge Company, and a new trial was ordered. The case was never tried again, but in pursuance of an agreement effected between the city and the Bridge Company, a verdict was rendered by *consent* in 1862 for \$33,998.51, which sum included interest for seven years and costs of suit. Of this amount Dracut paid \$7865 and Lowell the residue.

One curious phase of this bridge case is the obligation of the Corporation, under the original and amended charters to make due returns to the office of the Secretary of State. In the petition of the city of Lowell, presented by its counsel, it is said "And your petitioners further show that though said eighteen years have long since expired, the clerk of said Corporation has never made return into the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, of the actual expense of the building of said bridge, nor of the amount of the receipts, expenditures and dividends, during said term of time."

We feel a natural curiosity to know what the answer is to this serious charge. There are such things as

“fictions of law.” Perhaps this is one of them. Then again in regard to the reconstruction acts, the city charge the proprietors with a failure to make a return of the actual expenses incident thereto.

The directors of the Bridge Company, in their answer say, that the clerk of the Corporation “did make a return” of the original cost, October 15, 1827, which was filed February 19, 1829, used before a committee of the legislature in 1852 and has since been lost. That at the expiration of eighteen years a committee duly appointed appeared before a committee of the Commonwealth with a full, true and perfect statement, and evidence of the receipts, expenditures and dividends during the eighteen years then elapsed. This account was laid before a committee of the town of Dracut, which found it true and accurate, and the filing of the statement in the office of the Secretary of State “became wholly unnecessary and was waived.” So in regard to the cost of reconstruction the filing of a statement was waived. It does not appear who authorized the waiving of the provision of their charter.

Under the management of the proprietors of Central Bridge after it was roofed in, no lights were allowed to enable the passengers to see their way. It was on one dark night, just after a severe rain storm, that a gentleman doing business in Lowell, who resided in what was then Dracut, had occasion to cross the bridge. While groping his way to the bridge he fell into a hole close to it which had been washed out by the rain. He happily gathered himself together without any more serious damage than a thorough shaking up, and went at once to the toll-gatherer and notified him that he should put a lantern near the hole as a warning to other travellers. Through the representations of this gentleman to the

city authorities, the proprietors caused a few oil lamps to be distributed through the bridge, just sufficient to make darkness visible. These not being satisfactory, the city authorities carried the matter before the Grand Jury and the proprietors were indicted for maintaining a nuisance. This irritated them to such an extent that individual members swore that gas-pipe should never be carried across that bridge into Centralville. The indictment was sustained by the Court, the proprietors fined in the sum of \$2000 with \$46.37 costs, and the Sheriff of the County was empowered to expend the amount of the fine to carry gas-pipe through the bridge for the purpose of lighting it. The sheriff gave the proprietors the option of doing the work at their own expense or he would cause it to be done. They accepted the first proposition and the Gas Company was enabled thereafter to supply Centralville with gas light. Subsequently a demand was made by the proprietors that this amount of \$2000 should be refunded to them as part of the cost of the bridge.

The bridge was rebuilt by the city in 1862 (some years after litigation concerning it had ended), at an expense of \$33,818.33. The City Council appointed a special committee, consisting of Aldermen James B. Francis and William A. Burke, Councilmen George Runels (Mayor in 1882), William T. McNeil and Cleveland J. Cheney to superintend the work. The bridge was built by Josiah Sawtell after a pattern for which his son, Col. J. A. Sawtell, a well-known citizen at present, took out a patent when but seventeen years of age. It first had a plank roadway but owing to the increase of travel it was voted in 1874 to pave it with wood, and the work was done in the summer of that year. As soon as the wood paving was laid the

Horse Railroad Company extended its track to Centralville, the extension being formally opened in September of the same year. In 1879 the roadway was laid in concrete. It became necessary to straighten the bridge, which had been thrown out of line by the west winds, or other causes, and the work was done in September, 1880, by Dutton Wood, of Concord, N. H.

In looking back over the events that have transpired from 1825 until now and scanning this whole matter, we cannot but become aware that toll bridges and turnpike roads, in the opinion of the public, were nuisances; that people were averse to paying tolls when travelling, and preferred to take the burthen of supporting roads and bridges upon themselves. The trouble with the proprietors of Central Bridge was, they did not look at the matter in that light.

The following account of the destruction by fire of the bridge built in 1862, the building of temporary bridges and the preparations for building a permanent one, have been compiled from the columns of the Lowell Morning Mail.

About 20 minutes to 3 o'clock, Saturday morning, August 5, officer D. W. Lane, who watches in Centralville, discovered a fire about midway of the Central Bridge, on the western side. An alarm was at once sounded from Box 46, and the officers and two or three bystanders attempted to work the sprinkler-pipes, but after gaining access to closets on both sides of the bridge, nothing was found but the wrench and neither the officer nor his assistants knew where to apply it. By this time a fireman was on hand and at once took up the iron cover in the sidewalk, and after some necessary delay succeeded

in letting on the water. All this required time, and before the water was fairly on, the flames burst through the end near the Boott Cotton Mills and a sheet of flame burst through the roof. The sprinkler-pipe had the effect to stop the flames somewhat, but the wooden structure being as dry as tinder, it soon became evident to all that nothing could save the bridge. Chief Engineer Hosmer had arrived by this time and hose was at once laid and a ladder raised to the roof. At this juncture a section of the roof-timbers in the centre fell with a crash, and the firemen on the roof were warned to be careful. Streams of water were thrown on the fire by hose from the Boott and Massachusetts mills, but it seemed for a moment as though the Boott mill nearest the bridge must go, as the window-cases were in a blaze. Suddenly, without a moment's warning, the entire roof on the south end of the bridge gave way and three of the firemen, who were on its top, fell with it, and were precipitated into the river beneath. Chief Hosmer at once lowered a ladder into the river to reach the men who fell. James McCormick, of Hose 6, was found clinging to timber and was rescued without being much injured. Edward Meloy, of Hose 4, was found down at the edge of the river and helplessly hurt. He was taken out and found to be badly bruised in the face and injured internally, to what extent could not be told at the time. He was placed in the protective wagon and taken home. Capt. Stackpole, of Hose 3, also went down to the river's edge but was able to crawl out. He found William Dana, of Hose 3, clinging to the wall and helped him down. The two then crawled along to the Boott embankment and came up through the Boott yard. Stackpole was badly injured about the head and slightly in the leg; Dana's injuries were in the stomach, and he was not able to walk.

Capt. Edward Cunningham, of Hose 8, when the bridge went down, caught the wire guy rope that supported the derrick in use by the Boott Company in constructing their heavy bank wall. It was a most thrilling spectacle — Capt. Cunningham dangling from the rope, twenty-five or thirty feet from the ground, with the flames roaring and crackling only a foot or two back of him. A crowd impulsively gathered underneath, expecting every moment to see him drop, and thinking they might by some means break his fall. But with wonderful coolness he worked his way along the heated wire until a footing was gained among the telephone wires suspended below. On reaching it he waved his hand in triumph, turned up his coat collar as a protection against the blistering heat behind him, and quietly watched the movements being made for his rescue. When the ladder was put up he coolly came down and was soon ready for action again.

Immediately after the bridge fell a blazing volume of gas burst forth from a six-inch pipe directed toward the Boott mill, and only the constant application of a stream of water from the top of the mill kept it from doing an inconceivable amount of damage. Not until daylight appeared was the gas shut off and this dangerous fire extinguished.

The dry woodwork burned so rapidly that in less than half an hour the entire superstructure was down for one-half its length, and soon after the entire structure fell into the river, while the shore ends remaining undetached, and partially held by the many pipes and wires, kept the blazing line, which reached from shore to shore, from going down stream with the current until it was eaten into pieces by the greedy flames. It was a brilliant and novel spectacle, and was witnessed by many thousand people, who lined the shores,

watching the progress of the flames until the fire waned in the approaching light of the morning. At an early hour portions of the bridge which did not burn were cut away and floated down stream, lodging on the rocks (the water being very low) at the head of Hunt's Falls.

The origin of the fire is unknown. The engineer in charge of the portable engine in use in building the embankment wall for the Boott Company, from which it was said the flame started, stoutly denied the possibility of it, as no sparks flew from the smoke-stack, and if they did they could not have reached the bridge at the point where the conflagration was first discovered. It is not improbable that it caught from a cigar-stump or an ignited match, dropped carelessly on the planking, as one of the police officers recently extinguished an incipient fire on another wooden bridge in the city that had caught from this cause.

No sooner was the destruction of the bridge an assured fact than the important question for official consideration was, what means could be provided to transport citizens from the comparatively isolated district across the river to the city proper. Before the ruins had ceased to smoke Mayor Runels and Alderman Garity, with the assistance of other prominent citizens, arranged a temporary but precarious foot-path on the partially sunken *debris*, and by means of ropes and ladders a large number of persons who had the courage to attempt it were furnished with means of reaching their daily employment.

At an early hour, also, Mr. E. B. Peirce, the versatile navigator of the Merrimack (above Pawtucket Falls), was consulted, and promised to have a ferry-boat running by 9 o'clock. About the time fixed he made his appearance with a cumbrous but commodious canal-boat, with a

steamer for propelling it, and passengers were conveyed back and forth at the city's expense. This put a stop, to a great extent, to the operations of two other tiny steamers which had promptly appeared, and to a variety of small row-boats which had been brought into use, to earn an honest penny for their owners on the Centralville side. A landing was improvised near the Boott wall, and communication with Bridge Street was made by a circuitous passage through the company's yard. Mr. Peirce's boat served the purpose during the forenoon, and at noon another canal boat, belonging to the Locks and Canals Company, made its appearance. During the afternoon both boats ran with full fares. Policemen were placed on both sides of the river, to restrict the travel as much as possible to persons having legitimate business.

A floating bridge for pedestrians was a manifest necessity, and William H. Wiggin was authorized, early Saturday forenoon, to construct one. A large force of men was at once set at work; every available team heavy enough for the business was brought into requisition, and before many of the tardy on-lookers took their first view of the ruins of the bridge, the floating highway was well out into the stream, going forward vigorously. The sills (heavy mill timbers) were dumped on Bridge Street, shoved off into the river and floated into place, four abreast. They were held fast by heavy flooring planked on transversely, and under the efforts of the workmen the floating structure fast assumed a solid appearance. By Sunday evening the work was practically finished, and a quite satisfactory communication was again established with Centralville — for pedestrians only. The floating bridge was below the ruins, and Bridge Street was now gained by a flight of steps next to the Massachusetts mill; on the Centralville side the end was at the

old "landing." Teams were obliged to go around and cross the river at Pawtucket Falls. One of the horse-cars was taken around by way of Pawtucket Falls and the Navy Yard, and put upon the track in Centralville. A car was run down Bridge Street to the ruins; passengers walked across the temporary bridge, and took the waiting car on the Centralville side, and thus travel on the horse-cars was re-opened.

The loss of gas to the Centralville people was for two nights a very serious matter; but as soon as practicable the Gas Company laid a pipe along the floating bridge, and the inconvenience in that direction was thereafter removed. The broken lines of the telephone were also soon restored, and thus all interruptions were quickly re-established.

The floating bridge was built under authority conferred by the City Council, at a special meeting held immediately after the fire, Saturday forenoon. On Thursday evening citizens of Centralville held a meeting over which presided G. A. Gerry, T. G. Wadman acting as secretary, to discuss the question as to the kind of a bridge that ought to be erected in place of the old one. After a free expression of opinion by several gentlemen, it was apparent that the feeling was in favor of a structure of stone, as superior and more economical in the end than one of wood or iron. A committee of eleven was appointed to present a petition to the City Council, praying for a hearing on the subject. The hearing prayed for was assigned for August 28, when all parties interested were respectfully heard. Petitioners were likewise heard on the matter of widening Bridge Street, from the canal to the river, by taking a portion of the Massachusetts Company's estate. The action of the City Council was averse to the prayers of both petitioners.

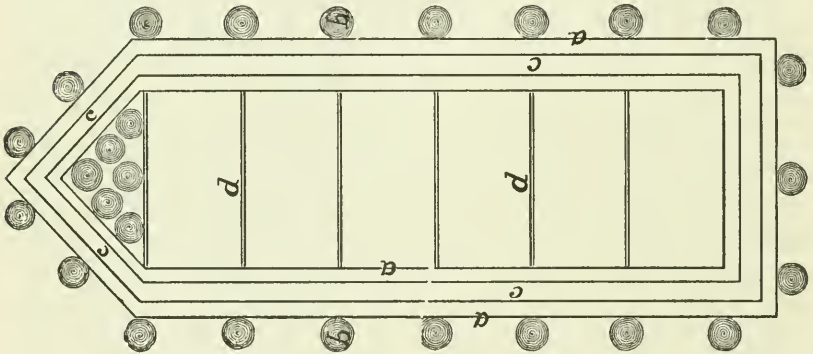
A temporary bridge for carriages and teams was deemed indispensable, and specifications for one were issued by the special committee on Central Bridge—which consisted of the following named gentlemen: Messrs. George Runels (Mayor), W. N. Osgood (President Common Council), T. R. Garity and J. F. Phillips (Aldermen), J. F. Puffer, Jr., L. J. Smith, and A. G. Thompson (Councilmen). The requirements demanded a bridge 780 feet long, extending from the Locks and Canals Company's land (next below the residence of Mrs. Levi Hancock) in Centralville—between First Street and the river—to land of the same company on the Belvidere side—between the river and Stackpole Street—nearly opposite the Church of the Immaculate Conception; to be built on piles $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the (then) water-level; to be 20 feet wide; roadway of one thickness of 3-inch spruce plank. Bidders were required to give the price of construction per lineal foot, and fix the time desired for completing the work. The following were the bids: S. N. Proctor, 40 days, \$11.00 per foot; J. W. Bennett & Co., 21 days, \$10.68; W. H. Ward, 30 days, \$10.60; W. H. Wiggin, 28 days, \$9.87; Trumbell & Cheney, 28 days, \$8.94; V. L. Wilson, 30 days, \$6.45. By the terms of contract Mr. Wilson was to pay \$50 for each day that he exceeded the time fixed for finishing his work and he was to receive the same amount for every day gained within the thirty days. He commenced driving the piles on the 14th, and the bridge was formally opened for travel on the 23rd—some vehicles passed³ over it on the preceding day. Mr. Wilson received \$815 in addition to the contract price.

At a special meeting of the City Council, September 22, a resolution was passed authorizing the construction

of a pile foot-bridge, the floating one having proved unsafe and otherwise insufficient. W. H. Ward was given the contract, his bid being \$2780, he to pay two-fifths of the expense in consideration of advantages secured by the laying of a railway track on the bridge, for moving material for the construction of the abutments and piers of the new bridge, that job having been awarded him some days previously. The pile bridge was built as nearly as possible to the line of the proposed new bridge; and in order to gain Bridge Street without interrupting the work of the contractors, an opening was made through the river-side of the brick wall of the Massachusetts mill and another through the wall on Bridge Street, thus making a passage, some thirty feet long, through the mill, above which the machinery merrily hummed through the working hours of every day.

The annexed diagram shows the form of the curb upon which the piers are to be constructed. The dimensions of the curb from outside to outside: length 61 feet 4 inches; width 14 feet 4 inches. Five of these frames will be used in the construction of the two piers, two on the north and three on the south pier. The outer frame of the curb is seen at *a*, the round piling at *b*, the sheet piling at *c*, and the one and three-quarter inch iron bolts that hold the whole together, at *d*. The round piling as shown at the head of the pier is to extend under its whole body, and after these are in place the interstices are to be filled with concrete composed of the best quality of hydraulic cement, broken stone, free from dirt and dust, or pebbles screened, varying in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The material to be in proportion of four parts broken stone, two parts clean sand and one part cement. The piles to be sawed off eight and not

higher than six feet below datum. The curbs to be filled with cement or concrete to the top of the piles, which are to receive a capping of heavy timber, framed and thoroughly secured. On this foundation the piers are to be built of square stone, each block of the bottom course to rest over one or more of the round piles.



The contract for the superstructure of the main bridge, which after many propositions and hearings it was decided should be of iron, was given to the Morse Bridge Company, of Youngstown, Ohio, whose bid was \$51,590 — the lowest of any considered. This brought the contract price, at \$110,590, Mr. Ward's figures for the abutments, piers, etc., being \$59,000. The incidental expenses will probably bring the cost up to \$115,000. At this writing, it is supposed the bridge will not be completed within nine months of the time of the destruction of the old one.

XXII. Responses from Corresponding Members.

THE interest manifested by the corresponding members of the Association is very gratifying. Responses have been received from Rev. Henry A. Miles, Hingham, Mass.; Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D. D., Providence, R. I.; Rev. Elias Nason, Billerica, Mass.; Rev. D. C. Eddy, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. George Leeds, D. D., Baltimore, Md.; Rev. H. Hastings Weld, D. D., Riverton, N. J.; Rev. E. L. Magoon, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; and James Payne, Esq., Lawrence, Mass. These all express pleasure for the honor conferred, great interest in the object of the Association, and a willingness to do all in their power to make the institution a success. Two of the responses are of sufficient interest to warrant their publication, as follows.

1319 GIRARD AVENUE,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., November 24, 1882.

DEAR PRESIDENT GREEN—Notice of my election as Corresponding Member of your Old Residents' Historical Association was yesterday received. Grateful appreciation of the honor thus conferred may perhaps be best indicated by at once sending you a few hastily recorded reminiscences of fifty years ago.

In June, 1826, an apprenticeship of three years was begun with the bricklayers, Willard & Chapin, in Windsor, Vt. In 1830 the former went to Lowell to execute several contracts, and employed the apprentice he had trained to work as journeyman, he then being twenty years old.

Early in the spring we began a block of stores opposite St. Anne's Church, owned by Messrs. Elliott and Billings, this being the first edifice of brick on that main street. Wooden "tenfooters" extended on both sides below, and the Town Hall was soon started above. The great vacant area in the rear was merely "old field," whereon the "Glorious Fourth" was celebrated in primitive style. A modest iron swivel woke echoes over a sparse population, summoning a miscellaneous crowd to hear Dr. Bartlett read an oration in verse, full of keen humor and patriotic thought. With his classic face and comprehensive culture, what a magnificent citizen stood there! Foremost in professional skill and every public enterprise, pioneer in all municipal growth, was he not your first Mayor?

After the civic celebration, minus brass band and military display, came a yet more pacific anniversary of the public schools, in the customary Oak Grove. At the head of this cheerful throng wending thither, walked arm-in-arm the two oldest village ecclesiastics, the tall and courteous Baptist pastor, Enoch W. Freeman, erect and elegant as a wax candle, and Rector Edson, whose lucid purity is not yet entirely removed, thank God!

Various denominations planted their chapels at an early day, but no Catholic church was yet built, as a genial religious resort, especially for the foreign population. The want of needful restraint upon ardent

hereditary proclivities often presented curious scenes in an extended arena now occupied by a most influential and decorous community. Well is it remembered how our fellow-laborers, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," ditchers and hod-carriers, formerly dwelt there in rude mud-hovels, with pigs and poultry, squalid urchins and drudging adults, in blended glee and misery. Lager was yet in the far future, and penny pipes abounded much more than dime cigars. But new rum was an adequate substitute for old whiskey as a stimulant to quarrelsomeness, and Sunday assemblies about "the Acre" were sometimes much more belligerent than devout.

From our front staging of simple constructive use, it was interesting occasionally to observe the great primary architect of your city, Kirk Boott, as his impressive form moved past with that peculiar oscillation in gait caused by an affection of the spine. Only old residents know where his white-columned mansion originally stood; but thousands yet profit by his influence.

Many potent individuals concentrated their differenced abilities in diverting the mighty current of limpid White Mountain drainage through desolate swamps and arid ravines, to create along Merrimack's ragged cataracts the prolific sources of cheap clothing for impoverished mankind. In the front rank of these benefactors of his race was Warren Colburn, who, early in the morning with a band of signal-holders and chain-measurers, would go forth with theodolite in hand to extend avenues and define foundations whereon now soars majestically "the Manchester of America." Then, in the evening, with equal facility, wielding pen and press as vehicles, he initiated rising generations into

the mysteries of serenest science and rendered mathematics the recreation of childhood as well as the crowning grace of maturest age.

With the native scholar let us gratefully associate in memory his beloved friend and representative Englishman, Manager Spencer, who was called hither to supervise the erection and manipulate the completeness of Hamilton Print Works. Robust in form, sedate in manner, of few words, but full of intuitive sagacity, no one ever doubted his "yes" or "no."

To those who, like Boott and Colburn, did much to cause a single outlet from the old Granite State to whirl more spindles than any other river on earth, and to such as bleached gray fabrics into immaculate purity, or, with exquisite design and color, sent forth innumerable folds of printed goods, both to comfort and adorn every variety of need or taste, add the great inventor who taught unsophisticated hands most adroitly to weave, and stretched multitudinous rows of powerlooms to that effect. We used to look on Paul Moody as the very incarnation of mechanical skill, who, to drive the innumerable shuttles he had winged, supplemented the force of liquid torrents with the might of steam, newly conditioned and rendered comparatively safe by that revolving regulator which now surmounts and controls the myriad engines of the world.

Postmaster Morrill was a highly esteemed citizen, whose home and office were on Central Street. His oldest son, Otis, was my classmate in college, greatly loved as a student as he was so well appreciated in connection with your public schools. A younger brother, promoted to the higher position he now so admirably fills, needs no commendation of mine.

My own board and lodgings, during the only year of continuous residence in town, was with Abel Shattuck, an admirable family, on Hurd Street. Some of the children are probably yet alive and esteemed amongst you, as by heredity and self-culture they deserve to be.

In the same neighborhood resided Dr. John Wheelock Graves and his accomplished wife, whose personal and professional worth some of us have the best reasons never to forget.

On the first of May, 1831, the writer, with a suit of new clothes, a set of trowels, and forty dollars in cash, left Lowell for New Hampton Institution, in his native New Hampshire, and there began a ten years' course of education. While in preparatory studies and during the four years at Waterville, Me., "vacations" were occupied in "masonic" toil. Even as late as the three years at Newton Theological Institution the familiar trowel was occasionally resumed "at home," if such a place had ever been found for poor me. On such visits it was always a joy to call on George H. Carleton and other generous friends who never failed in encouraging words and acts. Bent & Bush was a sign peculiarly golden, for there some unknown friend "dead-headed" the prospective preacher with the only fur hat he ever had before he was ordained.

The allusion just made to the amiable druggist brings us back to the old Town Hall, and reminds us of the strange changes that have transpired therein and around. For instance, when that eloquent member of the British Parliament, abolitionist Thompson, was sent to lecture this country on its greatest curse, the conservative influence of Massachusetts manufacturers was so great that our mentor could not proceed in that tumultuous gather-

ing-place. Intensifying the characteristic aspirate of his rhetoric into concentrated indignation he named the precinct "Lowhell." But in due time the stupendous evil ferments itself into a vastly more frightful explosion, when the radical cure, latent in worn hands and heroic souls, proved equal to the emergency they would neither create nor evade. "To the front," endangered Freedom cries, and the first to respond, with bare brow and undaunted breast, "marching through Baltimore," were they whose blood crystallized into the foremost monument of the kind on all our vast domain, now your grand city's centre and in full view of a reunited republic more firmly consolidated than ever before.

Doubtless much has been achieved by men in building up the productive metropolis of our early struggles and undying solicitude. But to women, young and old, is Lowell mainly indebted for the accumulation of wealth and spread of influence. The reminiscences we are recalling are intimately related to the throngs of noble factory girls who worked the mills, built the churches, supported the schools, contributed benevolent funds, and adorned the social life of our own aspiring days. Many were the lovely daughters of rural parents, who came hither to toil a portion of their life to gain the means of preparation for other spheres. It is quite easy to recall many a maiden who passed from factory to academy, and thence to equal honors with eminent coöperatives in every walk of life. Not waiting to matriculate with formal diplomas elsewhere, the admirable literary journal originated and sustained by themselves alone for so many years was itself the type and eulogy of factory girls, God bless them!

To preside over a wide diversity of retail trade and prudently to manage the numerous and crowded boarding-houses on all corporations was the appropriate office

of matrons, in friendly alliance with the industry of younger females. One of that valuable class I well knew, whose dignified urbanity and untiring industry were subordinated to the welfare of her household in general, and for the frugal but thorough education of her darling son in particular. Member of the same church and her children in the same Sunday school, she particularly desired me to aid in the welfare of her child when abroad. Accordingly, on the 10th of September, 1834, I wrote a letter of introduction to the President of Waterville College (now Colby University), of which I was then a junior, introducing this youth as a candidate for the freshman class. He entered at once, and, after the full course of four years, graduated with high honor.

In that communication the belief was expressed that Master Butler would prove himself a successful scholar. He has since been heard from, even so far that in his own Commonwealth he is now supreme. He may sometimes seem fierce in the execution of his design; but did he ever enter the list with visor down, or ignobly obstruct a competitor in open contest? With no patron but Providence, and no patrimony save native talent and indomitable self-reliance, whatever eminence he may have attained many may envy but none can despise.

The letter of introduction alluded to above is herein enclosed,* and you may show it to my promising young-

* The letter, folded in the prevailing style previous to the introduction of envelopes, is yellow with years, but unworn and legible. The superscription upon it is as follows:

Rev. Rufus Babeock,

President Wat. College,

Mr. B. Butler.

Waterville, Me.

It is dated September 18, 1834. Its contents relate largely to matters concerning the writer, and his allusion to "the widow's son" is very brief, viz: "Hope the College will prosper. I have seen several who will enter this year. One will bear this letter to you. Master Butler will make a good scholar, I think."

ster, upon whom I have not laid eyes for more than forty years. Nor am I yet ready for congratulation, since, though he has always been my candidate, not yet is prophetic hope fully realized. When from Governor of Massachusetts he becomes President of the United States, it may then be said — “Dear Ben, after privately vindicating your public career for a quarter of a century without obtruding either person or petition, as the only justification and reward of my confidence I beseech you yet more and more continue to be a right good boy.”

E. L. MAGOON.

LAWRENCE, November 25, 1882.

A. Gilman, Esq., Secretary of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell:

DEAR SIR — A few days ago I received a certificate of membership in the above named Association. Will you please convey to the officers and members my thanks for the honor conferred. Lowell has always seemed more like home than any place I have ever lived in, and it is particularly gratifying to me to be associated with a society having amongst its members friends of more than half a century.

All my recollections of Lowell are pleasant. I arrived there in the spring of 1827, my father and mother with me. I very well remember the appearance of Central Street as our party drove through it to the Mansion House, then kept by the late Jonathan Tyler. I remember, too, my delight in seeing the two rivers — Merrimack and Concord. Hastily equipping myself with rod and line, I rushed across the field to the river and soon pulled out a strange-looking fish — a horned pout, I was told — requiring careful handling; this I found out.

My father had acted as agent in England for the

Merrimack Company, in 1826, sending out men specially for the Print Works. In the course of the same year Kirk Boott visited England, when my father arranged to return with him to Lowell. It was decided that we should sail about the 1st of March from Liverpool, in the first-class packet ship *Emerald*, of Boston, Jabez Howes, master, a remarkable ship in those days — three hundred and seventy tons burthen. We arrived in Liverpool on time, but the ship did not get away till the 26th, waiting for a fair wind. In the cabin were Kirk Boott, Mrs. J. D. Prince and children, E. J. Payne, wife and son, Richard Worswick, wife and son, Mr. William Duesbury (old Doctor), and Stephen Dickinson, a block-cutter. It took about thirty-three days to arrive in Boston, where some anxiety was felt for the safety of the ship, being overdue.

There were a number of passengers in the steerage, one of whom found his way to Lowell and was employed in a subordinate capacity in the engraving department, under Mr. Worswick. Thomas Slater was his name, and he it was who first gave the name of John Bull's Row to the few brick cottages erected for the accommodation of some of the skilled workmen employed by the Merrimack Company. He had lost some article of value to himself, and went to a printing-office to have it advertised. When asked for his address, he gave it — for want of a better — John Bull's Row. It was so printed and circulated through the village, and every one at once knew the locality, as every house was occupied by an English family. This took place, I think, about the year 1828. I was learning the art of engraving at the time, worked in the same room, was present when he reported to Mr. Worswick what he had done. There was a good deal of talk in English circles on the subject for a time, and I supposed as did every one that

I knew, that it would soon die out and be forgotten. Slater undoubtedly is dead, and I am probably the only person living who remembers the circumstances under which the name was given. This seems a small matter to write about at this day; but as Gen. Butler thought fit to give a version of it in his address at the semi-centennial celebration of the town's organization, and might have obtained it through some member of your Association, I thought it might be interesting to get at the fact from one who knew the party well.

There was another statement made by the General on the same occasion, representing Kirk Boott as an "English Cavalry officer," which is incorrect. Kirk Boott was born in Boston, I believe, of English parents, was educated and grew to manhood there. Having a taste for military life he went to England, obtained a commission in the English army and saw a great deal of hard fighting in Portugal and Spain, under the Duke of Wellington. When war was declared against Great Britain, in 1812, the regiment to which he was attached (infantry) was ordered to America. He refused to fight against his own countrymen, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, who, when informed of the circumstance of his nationality, granted him leave of absence. He retained his commission till after the battle of Waterloo, when peace was declared by the allied powers. I learned this from my father, who was on friendly terms with Mr. Boott, and who could, if living, have told a great many interesting facts relating to his military career. My object in writing this is to place Kirk Boott before the Old Residents' Historical Association as a true and loyal American.

Truly yours,

JAMES PAYNE.

CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

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NOVEMBER, 1883.

LOWELL, MASS.

MORNING MAIL PRINT: NO. 18 JACKSON STREET.
1883.



CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

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XXIII. Reminiscences of the Early Physicians
of Lowell and Vicinity, by D. N. Patterson,
M. D.*

THE early history of our local Medical Society is so interwoven with that of an association which preceded it, that in a review of its history a brief sketch of the earlier organization is in place.

In 1829 the first Medical Association in Middlesex County was formed. Its origin can best be stated in a printed notice, copies of which were sent to the subscribers to the association. It reads as follows:

WALTHAM, May 9, 1829.

SIR—At a meeting of a number of physicians in September last, a committee was appointed to procure subscribers to a Medical Association, whose further duty it should be to call a meeting of the subscribers as soon as forty-five signatures should be procured.

The requisite number having been obtained, the committee appoint a meeting of the subscribers to be holden in Lexington, at Chandler's Tavern, on Tuesday, the 19th inst., at 11 o'clock A. M. As the association is to be organized at this meeting, it is important that it should be a full one; and your attendance is particularly desired.

J. BARTLETT,
H. ADAMS,
B. CUTTER,
A. HOOKER,
J. M. WHITTEMORE,

Committee.

* In accordance with the expressed wishes of quite a number of persons, the committee of the Old Residents' Historical Association have obtained from Dr. D. N. Patterson the right to reprint the Reminiscences of the Early Physicians in Lowell and its Vicinity. These papers are really valuable as a part and parcel of the history of Lowell and much credit is due the writer for his labor and research in producing them.

The meeting was held at Lexington, according to notice, and an association was organized. Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Chelmsford was chosen president, and Dr. S. S. Hurd secretary. The physicians of Lowell who were present at that meeting were Drs. Green, Huntington, Crosby and Bartlett. Unfortunately the records of that association have been lost.

Through the courtesy of Dr. John O. Green of this city, who has kindly furnished extracts from his private papers, the following facts are derived, which are of special historic interest:

The first annual meeting of this association was held May 19, 1830, and Dr. John C. Dalton of Chelmsford delivered an address on "Certainty in Medicine." All of the distinguished gentlemen from Lowell attended this meeting and participated in its exercises.

May 18, 1831, the association met at Billerica. Dr. Zadok Howe of that town delivered the address on "Fear in Connection with Medicine." This address is said to have been a very able one, and highly characteristic of its author. It was printed in full in the *Monthly Journal and Medical Student's Gazette*, published in January, 1832, and edited by Dr. Elisha Bartlett.

The next annual meeting was held in Lowell, May 16, 1832. The address was delivered in the City Hall by Dr. Abraham R. Thompson of Charlestown, on "Cholera." The interest and profit of the occasion were supplemented by an association dinner, which inaugurated what has since been a custom in similar gatherings of the profession.

The fifth and last annual meeting of the association was held at Charlestown. Dr. John O. Green of Lowell, whose skill and kindness will long be cherished by its

citizens, and his learning and character honored by his professional brethren, delivered the address on this occasion. Though cholera had been the subject of the last address, the prevalence of the disease in portions of the country induced the doctor to renew the discussion, and he embraced in his paper the report drawn up by him as a member of a delegation consisting of himself and Drs. Bartlett and Huntington, who had been appointed and sent to New York by the Selectmen of Lowell, one of whom was Dr. Josiah Crosby, to investigate and report the nature, remedies and preventives of cholera. It is well remembered and often referred to by our older citizens in connection with the history of that time, that a good deal of alarm had been awakened in our city by the rapid and fatal spread of the disease, and by the cases which had occurred in Boston.

In 1833 the association was dissolved on account of loss of time and the expense incurred by the members in going by stage to and from their then distant places of meeting. For several years there was no formal organization of physicians in this immediate vicinity.

But the old association had awakened a spirit that demanded for each the advantages to be derived from the aggregated knowledge and experience of all. To meet this demand the members of the profession in this city and neighboring towns, who had largely increased in number since the organization of Lowell under a city charter in 1836, established the custom of holding occasional meetings at each other's homes, for social converse, literary improvement, and the exchange of fraternal courtesies.

Doubtless this suggested a more permanent relationship, as, after several meetings with these objects

in view, a special meeting was held March 8, 1839, at which it was voted to form the Lowell Medical Association.

This voluntary association continued to grow in interest and increase in number, until, five years later, a charter was granted by the Massachusetts Medical Society for the establishment of a District Medical Society. At a meeting held in Lowell, November 2, 1844, consisting of the physicians of this city and twenty adjoining towns, it was voted "that they organize and form themselves into a District Medical Society." At an adjourned meeting the society adopted the name of the Middlesex District Medical Society.

In 1850 a slight change was made on account of the re-districting of the state. By the new arrangement, Middlesex County was divided into three districts, viz.: east, north and south. This city and eighteen neighboring towns were included in the north district, and the name of the society changed to the Middlesex North District Medical Society, which name it has since retained.

A more extended review of the history of this society would interest the members of the profession only, but the incidents and reminiscences in the lives of the men who composed it, and their peculiarities of character, cannot fail to be of general interest. Many of them were distinguished in their profession, and all were an honor to the community in which they lived. Their memory will long be cherished by the older inhabitants, and their faces gladly recalled by younger citizens, in whose minds they are associated with fond recollections of departed friends and parents.

It is therefore proposed to present in a series of papers such facts as can be obtained concerning the

earlier physicians of our city. For obvious reasons, no attempt will be made to consider the character of any now living.

ISRAEL HILDRETH, M. D.

Of those who have passed away, the name of Israel Hildreth, M. D., stands prominent among the earlier physicians of this vicinity.

Dr. Israel Hildreth was born in Dracut, February 28, 1791. The house in which he lived during his long and useful life is still standing, and its sacred associations have been perpetuated in a beautiful poem, written by one of his daughters, entitled "The Homestead."

It was customary in the early days for the youth of New England to receive much of their early education at home. It was from that source that the early training of Dr. Hildreth was drawn.

Certainly no one could be better fitted by nature or intellectual acquirements to give instructions and lay the foundation of studious habits than was the father of Dr. Hildreth. He was a prominent man in the town, a justice of the peace, a man of sterling worth, and is reputed to have been one of the finest scholars of his day. One who knew him well later in life, and who is the only counsellor now living who practiced before him, says, "Justice Hildreth was a man of stalwart proportions, of sound, vigorous mind, and of an age which enabled him to preside with much dignity. He then held a justice court in the sitting room of his house, on the right hand side of the road as you pass over toward the hill-side meeting house in Dracut. The reason why he held this court, was that there was no justice of the peace in Lowell who would act in that capacity."

After choosing his profession Dr. Hildreth showed a wise discernment in the selection of his instructors. He commenced his studies under the direction of Dr. Thomas of Tyngsborough. Subsequently he studied with Dr. Wyman of Chelmsford, who will be remembered as the able and efficient superintendent for many years of the McLean Asylum. He afterwards attended a full course of medical lectures at Boston, and received a license from the Censors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, to practice medicine and surgery.

In 1815 he commenced the practice of his profession in his native town. It was not long, however, before his practice extended for many miles into the surrounding country.

From his residence, which stood upon a slight elevation, he saw the rise and progress of this city, in which he soon had many families among his patrons, and where for many years he enjoyed as large a practice as many physicians whose homes were within the city limits. Progress with him was duty. Being a diligent student and a close observer of the phenomena of disease, he became acquainted with the principles and methods of treatment which are still considered of recent date. He did not fall into the prevailing custom of those days in the use of drugs, which were given more frequently and in larger doses than is the practice of later years. He sought rather to ascertain if the cause of any prevailing sickness was not due to the neglect of proper sanitary conditions of the house and its surroundings, and by their removal to bring about a return of health through a proper regard of the laws of hygiene.

This, together with the use of simple remedies, he considered of more importance than the increase of

medicines, either in kind or quantity. In this respect he was certainly in advance of his time. In the sick room, he was ever kind, thoughtful and considerate. Nothing was allowed to escape his notice which could in any way be made subservient to the comfort and improvement of his patients, while anything which he observed that he thought detrimental to their best interests, he was prompt and fearless in stating. He was ever ready, however, to give the reason which justified his action.

That he was frequently called to consult with his professional brethren in cases of severe sickness, or under trying and difficult circumstances, is one of the strongest proofs of his skill and reputation as a successful practitioner.

Notwithstanding the demands made upon his time as a physician, and the amount of study which must have been necessary, during a long period of exceptional practice for nearly forty years, he yet found leisure for literary pursuits which to him were always a source of special enjoyment and improvement. From surviving members of his family it is learned that when at home he was always busily engaged in reading some useful and interesting book, the contents of which were often the subject of conversation at the table, and made of special interest by his rare conversational powers. He could concentrate his faculties with the force of a powerful lens upon whatever he had read, and could so express his reflections as to leave a lasting impression upon his children and those who temporarily enjoyed the hospitality of his home. This improvement of the intercourse of the home circle should be specially noted, as it was a habitual custom with the doctor, and one which it is feared is too often neglected at the present time.

He was well read in history, both ancient and modern, and was perfectly familiar with the best works in English literature. He was very fond of the poets, too, and frequently gave recitations from the plays of Shakespeare.

But it was as an orator he achieved a distinction not often reached by the quiet conversation of the sick chamber or in the consulting room at the office. Had he chosen any of the professions which would have called forth the constant application of his efforts in this direction, he would doubtless have ranked with the finest orators of his day.

He inherited his father's physical proportions, and was possessed of a mind strong in conception, rich in resources, and rapid in execution. He was able to hold the attention of an audience with a grasp that is given only to the few. He had a fine personal appearance. His manner was self-possessed, full of grace and dignity, and, what was far better, he had at all times, and under all circumstances, the complete control of his mental powers. His voice though sonorous, was yet soft, and, when touched by his ardent nature, it became sympathetic, and fell upon the ear like music. His manner of delivery was deliberate. He used but few gestures, and those few were always significant, the very embodiment of dignity and conscious strength. A gentleman who had frequently heard him speak has said, "His greatest perfection was his style; his sentences, though apparently prompt and unpremeditated, were in a classical mould that no meditation could improve." His speeches were mostly of a political nature, and of course characteristic of the period in which he lived.

It was in 1818 or 1819 that a political division occurred in Dracut, and for many years the two parties,

known as the Whigs and the Federals, passed through a crisis which is described as being of a most bitter character. Dr. Hildreth early connected himself with the Federal party, and to it he gave his best efforts. Though in a minority, on no occasion was he ever known to prove false to the principles that he advocated, and in which he firmly believed. In gathering reminiscences of his life no one instance of his political career is more often referred to than his reply to a speech made by Hon. Abbott Lawrence during the presidential campaign of 1848. Both of these speeches were made in the Centre Meeting House in Dracut, and within a few evenings of each other. The reply of Dr. Hildreth is said to have been "one of the most crushing and effective rejoinders conceivable." It was soon after repeated in Tewksbury before a much larger audience, where, if possible, the enthusiasm it created exceeded that on its first delivery in Dracut. On several occasions he delivered the oration, at the anniversary of our national independence in the towns in this vicinity.* As an orator on such occasions his services were highly prized, and rarely did he fail to do justice to himself or the principles he then proclaimed.

As a member of the Masonic fraternity he was held in high esteem. In an able address delivered by one of the highest officers of that order, Mr. Solon W. Stevens, on the 75th anniversary of Pentucket Lodge, in alluding to his connection with that order, spoke as follows: "Dr. Hildreth was elected Master of Pentucket Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, October 28, 1819. He was a man of remarkable ability,—among the foremost of his profession as a physician, and noted

* In 1829 he delivered a Fourth of July oration in the Universalist Meeting House then standing on Chapel Street in this city.

for the dignity of his demeanor, the elegance of his manner, and the persuasiveness of his speech. His reputation as a presiding officer is among the traditions of the lodge. On public occasions, whenever he spoke, the melody of his voice and the distinctness of his utterance produced that charm upon the listener which may be felt but cannot be described. In the words of another, 'He was born a gentleman and an orator.' He served as Master for five consecutive years, and, on his declining another re-election, the lodge voted him 'thanks for his long and meritorious services.'"

It is not surprising, therefore, that his remarkable executive ability was early recognized by his friends and townsmen, who repeatedly urged him to accept positions of honor and trust at their hands. These, however, he persistently declined. The only office that he would accept was that of a member of the board of superintending school committee. It was only the deep interest that he took in educational matters that induced him to fill the duties of that office, which he did to the perfect satisfaction of the people of the town. During his long period of service the schools attained a high degree of success, which was due in no small degree to his earnest, intelligent and conscientious endeavors in their behalf. At "town meeting" Dr. Hildreth considered it his duty to be present, and the occasion was rare that found him absent. His well informed mind enabled him to speak intelligently upon almost any subject. In the heated discussions, he was always sure of the closest attention. To him the weak and undecided looked for a clear, straightforward statement, which would enable them to obtain a more intelligent view of the question than the confused representations of previous speakers had given. By such help the most

unlearned man in the assembly was able to define his position, having taken his bearings from a source which to him was as welcome as an observation of the sun is to the mariner after days of obscurity. His opponents were often driven to seek new ground for defence, as their previous positions had been effectually overthrown.

Having abundant means, and not being dependent upon the income from his profession, he gradually relinquished it, and during the last years of his life retired from active practice. This enabled him to pass the evening of life in the quiet of his home, surrounded with all its comforts, and the loving care of children. Age did not dim his mental faculties, which he retained in a remarkable degree.

Thus, even in declining years he was able to some extent to continue his habits of study and enjoy his last days with the best works of literature as his companions.

Having always possessed a strong, vigorous constitution, and having seldom experienced illness, he gave little heed to those symptoms which in another he would have considered with serious concern.

At the last he was confined to his house but a few weeks, and to his room not many days, with a disease that was somewhat complicated in character, its real nature never being known, which terminated his life April 6, 1859, at the age of 68. His memory will long be cherished by those who knew him best, while his rich and varied qualities of mind and heart will not soon be forgotten.

DRS. AMOS AND PELEG BRADLEY.

This paper will recall the practice of a father and son continued through nearly three-quarters of a century.

Dr. Amos Bradley was born in Dracut, October 2, 1762. He was the son of Deacon Amos Bradley, who will be brought to mind in connection with an item of local history as the gentleman for whom "Bradley's Ferry" was named.

Dr. Bradley spent his earliest years in the usual occupations of a farm. His father then owned a large farm in Dracut, which is now Centralville, covering nearly all of the side hill east of Bridge Street, having the river on one side, and what is now Tenth Street on the other. The market of Messrs. Strout & Kingsbury is located in a portion of the old house in which he was born, and which is, doubtless, one of the oldest buildings in this city. His opportunities for an education were limited, and it is not known with whom he studied medicine. He commenced practice about the time he was married, which was in 1785. Soon after this he purchased the farm now owned by Mr. Charles Hamblett in Dracut, where he lived the remainder of his life.

There is a varying tradition that for fifteen or twenty years Dr. Bradley was the only resident physician in the town. He had a large practice, and was a perfect type of the country doctor of olden time. He made his daily tour of professional visits, through the town and surrounding country, on horseback. When in the saddle, he wore a pair of felt leggings to prevent his trousers from being soiled by the mud or dust of the road. In their accustomed place he carried the ever-

memorable saddle-bags, which, when opened at the bedside of the sick, revealed a curious medley of well-filled phials of medicines, various instruments, and other paraphernalia of his profession. The circuit over which, for so many years, he travelled in the discharge of his professional duties, may be briefly stated as follows: On leaving his house in the morning, and after having made his calls in the immediate vicinity, he would cross over the river at "Bradley's Ferry," into that part of Chelmsford which is now Lowell, and continue on through Middlesex, North Chelmsford, and Tyngsborough, where he would re-cross the river by "Tyng's Ferry," thence he would proceed through the northwestern portion of Dracut to Pelham, N. H., returning to his home by the turnpike road through that section of Dracut known as "Black North."

There was scarcely a day for many years that he did not travel over portions of the above route, and rarely a week passed that he did not complete the entire circuit. In each of the towns mentioned he had many families. These long rides, made in all kinds of weather during summer and winter, and often extending late into the night, to be again commenced before the break of day, required a strong and rugged constitution and an indomitable will, both of which he fully possessed.

It is related of a physician, that when on his death-bed he gave explicit directions in regard to the care of his horse, which had been his faithful servant for many years. That such a request would not have been inappropriate for the subject of this sketch, may be inferred from a statement made by one who is a relative of the family, who says "that on several occasions, late in the night, the first intimation to the family of the doctor's arrival, would be the whinnying of a horse in the yard,

and on going to the door to ascertain the cause, the doctor would be found sitting in his saddle sound asleep," his faithful horse having brought him safely over many a mile while he was obtaining that rest in sleep which he so much needed.

As a man he was honored and respected. His traditional reputation is that of a skilful, conscientious physician, who was faithful to his patients, and ever mindful of his own professional honor. He continued in practice for forty-five years, and left as a legacy to his son, who succeeded him, a practice which he had built up by steady and persistent efforts, the income of which had enabled him to meet the reasonable wants and necessities of a large and growing family.

He continued in practice until within a few months of his death, which was caused by paralysis. He was confined to the house but a few weeks after the fatal shock. His death occurred May 6, 1817. His funeral was largely attended by people coming long distances, and who mourned the loss of one whom they had learned to love as a kind and sympathizing friend.

Dr. Peleg Bradley, son of the subject of the preceding sketch was born in Dracut, May 26, 1792. He received his education at the town school and at the Academy in Westford. For several terms he taught a winter school at Pelham, N. H., and at Salem in this state. He studied his profession in the office of his father, attended medical lectures at Boston, and received a license to practice, from the Censors of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

In 1813 he commenced practice in Dracut, and, until his father's death, was in company with him. The confidence which had been given to the father was not long in being transferred to him. It is to his credit

that his fidelity to the profession which had been his father's pride and the object of his tireless efforts did not lose any of its fascinations, but rather gained new importance as the opportunities of a larger practice opened before him. In company with his father, he travelled over the circuit already described, and soon extended its limits by including the towns of Methuen, Andover, Billerica, and Tewksbury. Lowell, both as a town and city, contained a considerable number of his best families.

It was natural that his method of practice, at first, should conform somewhat to that of his father, though it was afterwards modified to meet the demands of modern thought and experience. During the first years of his practice he obtained all of his medicines from Boston, and at his house he kept a small apartment where he compounded his mixtures, made his pills, and prepared his ointments and plasters.

He inherited an adaptedness for his profession, and was always happy when busily engaged in its active duties. He was a careful physician, and gave attention to methods of obtaining knowledge from experience. He kept an accurate record of his most important cases, giving careful thought to the details of ætiology, pathology, diagnosis and treatment. He was thus enabled to classify and arrange under their appropriate heads the different diseases, and to arrive at better methods of treatment than an absence of such a method could have given.

He also kept an accurate descriptive account of his obstetrical cases, which he arranged with great care, and which is still preserved in his family. The wisdom of such a course has been demonstrated by the frequent reference which has been made to its pages by the

respective clerks of this city and the neighboring towns. No little amusement has been quietly enjoyed by the surviving members of the family who possess this record, when they have overheard the remarks made occasionally by certain of the fairer sex of "uncertain age," who have confidently declared that no one could tell how old they were, as the family record had accidentally been destroyed.

Although not in practice as long as his father, the younger Bradley during a period of thirty years accumulated some property. When it is remembered that his charge for office advice, with medicine, was only 25 cents, and for visits to the house 50 cents, and allowance is made for various deductions and losses which are always incident to the practice of medicine, something as to the extent of his practice may be inferred. Although he took a watchful interest in political questions of the day, yet he cared for no public honors, being content to cast his vote, and to fulfil the quiet duties of a citizen.

In 1845 he built the house on Third Street which is now owned by Mr. Daniel Stickney, where he lived during the few remaining years of his life. He did not possess the strong and rugged constitution of his father, but was frequently subject to gastric troubles which temporarily confined him to the house. These increased in frequency and severity during the last year of his life, and at length became complicated with ulceration of the bowels, and after several weeks of great suffering he died, September 26, 1848, at the age of fifty-six.

ELISHA HUNTINGTON, M. D.

In 1824, two years before the incorporation of the town of Lowell, there came into this place a young man of ripe mental culture, scholarly attainments, and possessing traits of character unusually promising. These and other excellent qualities were united in the person of Dr. Elisha Huntington, who was destined to fill a place in the early history of Lowell that even the most sanguine admirer could not anticipate.

Dr. Huntington was born in Topsfield, Essex County, Mass., April 9, 1796. He was the son of the Rev. Asahel Huntington, for nearly twenty-five years the devout and faithful minister of the town. His mother was the daughter of Dr. Elisha Lord, a distinguished physician of Pomfret, Conn., and was a woman of superior intellect, high culture and great moral worth.

Under their instruction and influence he was trained in correct habits, and imbibed those sterling principles by which his future life was controlled. He was fitted for college under the direction of his father, who made it a part of his occupation to fit young men for college, and his adaptedness for that work was shown by the scholarship and number of students who were instructed by him, many of whom afterwards occupied important places of trust and responsibility. Mr. B. A. Gould, for many years master of the Boston Latin School, was among the number.

He entered Dartmouth College at the age of fifteen, and graduated in the class of 1815. He studied medicine with Dr. Bradstreet of Newburyport, and attended medical lectures at Yale College, taking his degree in 1823. In 1824 he came to Lowell and entered at once

upon a career of professional and official duties such as it is rarely the fortune of one man to experience. As in other pursuits, so in the practice of medicine, time, circumstances and surroundings have much to do in directing the course and shaping the destinies of men. It was fortunate that Dr. Huntington did not choose one of the specialties in medicine or surgery to which to devote his thoughts and his hours of study, for subsequent events, in which he was so actively engaged, and the duties of which he was so eminently fitted to discharge, would have made it necessary for him to sacrifice the studies of the one or the obligations of the other.

But as a general physician, he was eminently successful, and when not interrupted by the duties of his official position, he enjoyed a large practice. If we may presume to speak of his professional worth in a more sacred relation, it may be stated that as a family physician he enjoyed the confidence and high regard of a large number of families in this community, who retained his services as long as he lived. During the early years of his practice, Lowell was being rapidly populated by individuals and by large and enterprising families. The excellent opportunities and inducements offered by this growing city had considerable influence in drawing within its limits a large number of the latter.

The relations which a physician sustains to the families by whom he is employed have been so beautifully expressed by an eminent writer, and apply so forcibly to the subject of this sketch, that they are here appended without change: "Warm and generous in his friendships, none could surpass him in his sympathy for the afflicted and suffering, and thus controlled, his attentions were unremitting. To skill, that was seldom baffled, there was added this essential qualification of a successful physician — a benevolent heart; a heart that feels

his patient's pain as if it were his own; that looks on the woe-stricken countenance of a wife, and resolves that, if possible, she shall be saved from the desolation of widowhood; that looks on weeping children, and resolves that no energy shall be spared in saving them from the orphan's destitution; that looks at a father's and mother's anguish, and resolves that, with God assisting, he will save their child."

This, which was said of another, expresses with special emphasis the characteristics of Dr. Huntington. He was faithful to those who were intrusted to his care, sparing not himself in his endeavors to allay the sufferings of the sick or the anxiety of their friends. Especially to the poor was he very considerate; and ready to give his time and his skill, which were often supplemented by pecuniary aid. An eminent writer has remarked that "great men and great events grow as we recede from them; and the rate they grow in the estimation of men is in some sort a measure of their greatness."

A generation has grown up in our city since Dr. Huntington finished a municipal career which has never been excelled in our local history. While Lowell was yet a town, he served two years as one of the selectmen and four years as a member of the school committee. After its incorporation as a city, he served three years as a member of the common council, two terms of two years each as a member of the school committee, which, with the period he served as a member of the board by virtue of another office, gave him a prominent position on that educational board for sixteen years.

He was three times elected an alderman, and in 1839, during his second year as president of the common council, he was elected to fill the office of Mayor, made

vacant by the death of Hon. Luther Lawrence, only a few weeks after entering upon his second term of office. He was re-elected to fill that office in 1840, '41, '44, '45, '52, '56 and '58—a period of eight years, which is more than twice as long as held by any other incumbent. With these facts before us, and knowing that on several occasions he positively declined a re-election, what must be the verdict in respect to the position which he held in the minds and hearts of the people of Lowell? Can it be any other than that of unlimited confidence and respect? A confidence and respect that early in his municipal career won for him the entire support of our citizens, and were a passport to his re-election, until the word re-election well nigh lost its significance, so often was it used in connection with him. It was only on one or two occasions that he was defeated, and on no occasion was his election so questionable that a recount of votes was necessary. The fact that party animosity and political chicanery were not as prevalent then as now will not account for the doctor's long retention in office.

The foot-lights gave a clear view of the stage on which the political actors moved, and the lifted curtain often revealed as intense and varied popular excitement as characterize the local elections of the present day. What, then, were the essential elements of his success, and wherein lay his power, which was so unmistakably recognized? Perhaps in no better way can they be studied than by reference to some of his inaugural addresses. That he felt the responsibility and dignity of the office may be inferred from his address on one occasion when he said: "I cannot fail to consider the matter in all seriousness, and to feel that a great duty is laid upon me—a duty that I am to discharge without fear or favor and with perfect impartiality towards every member of the community."

It is believed that during the administration of Dr. Huntington, he faithfully and with honest purpose carried out in act what he had proclaimed in word. It was because of that honest endeavor that the citizens of Lowell felt a degree of security when Dr. Huntington presided at the head of our municipal government. During his long period of service as mayor, his deportment was correct, his judgment sound, and the success of his administration universally admitted. The only charge that was ever brought against him was his liberality to the poor. If that was a failing, it was a God-given one, and the care and attention bestowed upon that unfortunate class will be approved in a higher court than that of popular prejudice.

In one of his inaugurals he gives considerable attention to the subject of the care of the poor. It is fortunate that this was done, as it enables us to judge of his motives in this work. These are his words: "Our whole duty to the poor is not discharged by relieving their immediate and pressing necessities. The great object that should never be lost sight of is the prevention of pauperism, and this is to be accomplished in various ways — by teaching the poor habits of temperance, industry and economy; encouraging and aiding them in self-dependence and self-respect." There are abundant proofs that by such methods did he seek practically to aid this unfortunate class.

When in 1856 he entered for the seventh time upon the duties of mayor, it would seem from the tone of the opening sentences of his address, that in his own mind he did not intend to again accept the responsibilities of that office. In his exordium he briefly reviews his period of service in the municipal history of this city with these words: "You may readily imagine, gentlemen, how difficult, nay impossible, it is for me to find

fitting words to express the feelings of my heart on this occasion. To have received so many tokens of the generous confidence and kindness of the people among whom I have lived for more than thirty years, and not be deeply moved thereby, would prove me wanting in ordinary sensibility." At the next election he positively refused to allow his name to be used as a candidate for re-election.

But the following year—1857—will ever be remembered in the history of our country as the year of the "great panic." Almost every business community within its borders was more or less affected, and this city was not excepted. When the time came in the fall of that year to nominate a candidate for mayor for the ensuing year, the utmost concern was felt that the choice should be made wisely and with care. There was a feeling that no party issues were at stake, but that a responsibility rested upon each man's shoulders that he dare not cast off without regarding its consequences. Then it was that the citizens of Lowell unanimously nominated Dr. Elisha Huntington, and by a large majority elected him for the eighth time as their honored and beloved mayor. They knew his worth, and to him they entrusted the interests of this city, when, if ever within its history, there was needed a wise, judicious, and Christian man at the helm.

If in coming time this city should again be involved in financial depression and doubt, and the highest city official should wish to stimulate the citizens of this community with hope, activity and enterprise, he can do no better than refer to the calm, thoughtful and enlightened views which are contained in the eighth and last inaugural address of Dr. Huntington. His political honors were not confined to his own city, nor his executive ability employed in her behalf alone. In 1852 he

was chosen lieutenant governor of the state on the Whig ticket with Gov. Clifford.

For two years he was president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and also for two years served as president of the District Medical Society, having held all of the minor offices of that society. The resolutions passed by that body on the occasion of his death testify to the reverence with which he was regarded by his professional brethren, and "that his ambition for professional success never betrayed him into dishonorable practices; and whose desire for self-improvement, which made him an accomplished man in his profession, also made him a zealous supporter of everything conducive to its honor and welfare." He was a most active member of the Middlesex Mechanics Association, and was chairman of the lecture committee for several years. His interest in education was of the practical kind. It might be supposed by some that a life so active and full of various occupations, would prevent him from obtaining that knowledge from books, the pursuit of which the student so much enjoys. But an incident occurring only a few months before his death will, we think, correct the idea that he had lost his love for the studies of his youth.

Daniel Webster said in his master plea for his Alma Mater, before the learned court at Washington, "It is a small college, as I have said, and yet there are those who love it," and in describing that scene, one has remarked, "that not a man among the strong-minded men of that assembly thought it unmanly to weep with the great orator alumnus over her glory and peril." That Dr. Huntington might be placed among the number that had not forgotten the debt he owed to Dartmouth College, may be inferred from the fact that during the last summer of his life he paid a filial visit to his

Alma Mater. Although his health was seriously impaired at this time, he attended the commencement exercises, it being the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation.

The last public act of his life was to attend as a bearer at the funeral of his friend and associate, Dr. Campbell. This, like many other duties, was performed at a time when his physical condition would hardly admit of such service. On that occasion he contracted a severe cold which, added to his somewhat impaired health, produced a severe shock to his system, and on December 13, 1865, this good man passed away, confident in that faith which had been his stay and support through all the years of his life. The grief felt at the death of Dr. Huntington was universal, and his loss to the city felt to be irretrievable. But so long as the fame of this city shall survive, the public services of Dr. Huntington will live upon its records, and his name occupy a prominent place in its history.

ZADOK HOWE, M. D.

Located in the neighboring town of Billerica, there stands a building of noticeable proportions, upon whose front walls appears in raised letters—

“HOWE SCHOOL.”

It is with a brief sketch of the founder of that school, Dr. Zadok Howe, that this paper is concerned.

To say of him that he was a bundle of eccentricities would not exaggerate the oddity for which he was noted. Concerning his birth, early history, family connections, or future purposes in life, he would reveal nothing. Not until after his death was it known by his townsmen

and friends that he had any relatives living. Some time after his decease a gentleman was found who proved to be his brother, from whom reliable information regarding the doctor's early life was obtained. Of matters of personal history, and especially with reference to his age, he was ever most reticent. His birth is believed to have been at Bolton, Tolland County, Conn., February 15, 1777. His education, which was quite limited, was obtained at Foxboro', Mass., where his father, for whom he was named, and who was of Revolutionary fame, died November 17, 1809. Whether the peculiar and varied circumstances which followed each other in rapid succession for a number of years had any influence in shaping his future eccentric career, can only be surmised. At the age of sixteen he went to Hartford, in his native state, where he learned the trade of watch-making, which he followed for several years. Here, also, he developed considerable fondness for the brush and easel.

It was late in life that he commenced the study of his profession, under the direction of Dr. Miller of Franklin, Mass. He began practice in Concord, N. H., where he remained a few years, acquiring in the meantime considerable professional business and a growing reputation. But for some reason he became dissatisfied, and in 1814 he entered into partnership with his former preceptor, Dr. Miller, and for two years they carried on the business of an infirmary for the cure of cancers. This not proving lucrative, "the partnership affairs were adjusted and divided." When he was next heard of he was located in Boston. He remained there but a few weeks, when, one day after dark, he took in his sign, and again embarked on the troubled waters of uncertainty.

The next place to which he directed his steps was the town of Billerica. Whether in previous places he

had not received that encouragement which he needed, or whether the surroundings were not suited to his tastes, may be questioned, but certain it was that in Billerica "his talents and worth soon became appreciated, and secured for him an extensive business."

Referring to his eccentricities, one who knew him well has remarked "that it was impossible for him to do anything that was not odd." Yet that very peculiarity stamped him as a man of more than ordinary genius. His writings, of which there are known to be twelve publications, are noted for a degree of zeal and diligence in pursuit of knowledge pertaining to his subjects, and for perspicuity in narration. On one occasion, in preparing a report of several important cases, he says, "I am fully aware that the reports of many cases, important in themselves, lose much of their interest when drawn out in minute details; and taking for granted that no one cares to be informed whether the patient took a spoonful of laudanum at night, or a bowlful of gruel in the morning, I shall abstain from the discussion of any such matters; and in my descriptions shall only be solicitous to make myself clearly and distinctly understood." It may be safely stated, without fear of contradiction, that whoever has had occasion to refer to any published reports of his cases, has been saved the trouble of wading through several pages of useless material.

In a previous paper, reference has been made to his able address on "Fear in Connection with Medicine," which he delivered before the Middlesex Medical Association in 1831, and which was published at that time. Its introduction was marked by the characteristic peculiarities which have been noted. "The privilege of choosing a subject for discussion," he says, "and the ample

time allowed me for preparation are circumstances which I have turned to very little account. Man is an indolent being; he requires the stimulus of necessity to prompt him to exertion. Give him a whole year for time, give him all creation for the choice of a topic for the discussion of a single hour, and, after all, he will probably come forward with a hasty production, because he could always postpone the consideration of his subject 'to a more convenient season.'" He then proceeds with a discussion of his theme, entering with diligent and careful search into the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, the earliest writings of ancient history, theology and medicine, referring occasionally to the mysteries of the dark ages, and then closing with quotations from the writers of his own time. Although fifty years have elapsed since that address was published, it would still be read with interest if it were reprinted.

His address on "Quackery," delivered before the State Medical Society, is considered by some as his best production, though when compared with the one on "Fear," many would prefer the latter.

Opening with the remark that "This topic has engaged the attention of philanthropists through a long succession of ages," he proceeds to consider the arts of quackery as they prevailed in the days of Henry VIII. He then ingeniously conducts his hearers through a somewhat circuitous line of attack upon quackery, which he declares still survives, "not only in England, but, what is of more importance to us, the demon of Empiricism still hovers over the land of the Pilgrims." Numerous selections from that address might be given to show the mingling of his brilliant sallies of wit with the scathing utterances of sarcasm. But one only must suffice, which reads as follows: "It is to be regretted that

even in these days of medical light and knowledge, the line of demarcation between the scientific practitioner and the professed quack is not always so clearly defined as it should be. The following case, which occurred a few weeks since, will afford an illustration in point: I was called to examine a tumor upon the neck of a gentleman from a neighboring state. Upon removing his cravat, which partially concealed the tumor, I discovered a ten-cent piece attached to a cord, which passed around his neck, together with a string of gold beads hanging in festoons over the tumor. I first made inquiries touching these 'deposits of the precious metals,' and was informed by the patient that he had consulted a seventh son, who presented him with the ten-cent piece, to be constantly worn about his neck; but that the gold beads had been subsequently directed by a *regular practitioner*, who informed him that the silver was a very good application, but that in real scrofulous humors the gold was more powerful."

Dr. Howe's talents and success as a surgeon will be handed down to posterity, and be as enduring as the genius of his literary productions. He was careful and conscientious in his methods of procedure, and took much pride in saying "that he never performed an operation when he thought he could do no good." Many of his instruments he made himself, and, doubtless, to his professional ingenuity many owed their lives. His method of removing a hay-hook from a boy who, in sliding down from a mow of hay, had struck upon the pointed end of the hook, which had penetrated his body at the lower part of the abdomen, and protruded from his body but two inches below the umbilicus, was original and characteristic. "It was an iron hook, two inches across the point of the barb (which is not unlike that of

a fish hook) and rather long in proportion to its width, with a wooden handle attached to it by a socket." The doctor saw his patient two hours after the accident, he having been sent for in consultation. The sufferings of the boy may be better imagined than described, and he was evidently sinking under the intense pain and shock to his nervous system. Whatever was to be done must be decided upon quickly. The course which he adopted was most ingenious, and was as follows: That it could not be extracted in the same way as it entered will be readily seen from the shape of the hook. He therefore procured a blacksmith's vise of the largest size, and securing it to the floor and the bedstead in a substantial manner, he brought his patient into a favorable position with the lower limbs bent and supported by an assistant. He placed the rod in the vise and gave the screw a strong turn. Then with a cabinet-maker's fine saw, running in oil, the rod was separated between the socket and vise. On making an incision of desired length, the iron was removed, and the patient ultimately recovered.

The above is but one of many operations which he performed under equally as trying and difficult circumstances. As a physician he was eminently successful, and during his long residence in Billerica he enjoyed a large practice, while the esteem with which he was regarded by his professional brethren may be inferred from the statement that his consultation practice was very large, frequently extending not only in the immediate adjoining towns but in more distant parts of the state.

His eccentricities were as varied and changeable as the pictures in a kaleidoscope. At one time when the "tobacco question" was creating considerable discussion in medical circles, the doctor gathered the names of the oldest men, whether living or dead, within the circle of

his practice, going back in his researches for twenty years. Of course the names of the living were easily obtained, while those of the dead he gathered from family records, tombstones and bills of mortality. He then proceeded to ascertain how many of that number were or were not in the habit of using tobacco. This information he obtained mostly from the store-keepers who sold that article. He then presents the result of his investigations as follows: "The list contains the names of 67 men, from 73 to 93 years of age; average age 78 and a fraction.

"After patient inquiry, never having received a guess as evidence, I arrived at the following result, viz.:

Smokers or chewers	54
Non-consumers of Tobacco	9
Doubtful, or not ascertained	4
	67

How much longer these men might have lived without tobacco, it is impossible to determine."

On another occasion, while staying a few days in the village of Canterbury, N. H., he was much interested in what was to him a new process of unloading hay, the most marked feature being the rapidity with which it was done. He therefore placed himself in a favorable position to observe the *modus operandi*, and then took out his watch and timed the proceeding, which occupied only six minutes. The time, together with a detailed account of the process, he recorded in his journal.

When he purchased the "Everett lot," on which the school-house now stands, the conjectures of his friends occasioned no little amusement to the doctor, who would not satisfy their curiosity by answering ques-

tions as to his future use of the grounds, but rather excited it by building a durable and handsome fence in front of the lot, and adorning it with trees.

After his friends had tired of asking in regard to its future use, they settled down with the belief that he selected the spot for his last resting place. Although this lot was purchased twenty years before his decease, yet so well did he keep his secret that it was not known until after his death for what purpose it was designed.

Although he never married, yet he was noted as quite an expert in the way of matrimonial match-making, often eclipsing the efforts of those who are supposed to know the peculiar workings of that mysterious business. He had a pleasant manner of introducing a young lady and gentleman to each other, and frequently by his eccentric remarks made them better acquainted in a few minutes than more fashionable methods, the formality of which often defeats their purpose, could have brought about in as many weeks. No one enjoyed a joke at a family's expense better than he, but when seriously speaking of the sacred relations of marriage, he treated them with great reverence and respect. Whatever might have been his disappointments in early life, he never allowed them to lower his belief in the sacred and Christian offices of marriage.

As in every duty which he performed he aimed to be practical, so in his religious life this element was not wanting. He had his theories concerning the teachings of the Bible, and they may have differed from those of other men, but whatever they were, he exemplified them so closely in his daily life, that there could be no doubt that they had their seat in the heart.

That he should have accumulated a large estate is accounted for from the fact of his making careful col-

lections, and, having no family, he lived very economically. Soon after settling in Billerica his ingenuity was displayed by the following manner of collecting his charges :

Most of his patients being farmers, and not always having ready money, were inclined to make a long pay-day. Dr. Howe adopted this expedient : At the beginning of every year he prepared notes with receipted bills, and, calling on his patrons, proposed settlement of accounts by their signing these notes—saying he did not want the money, they could pay whenever convenient, but that it would greatly oblige him, as he would then have no further trouble in his accounts or bills. It will be seen at once that these notes on interest proved of far more value than any old or disputed bills.

He generally enjoyed good health and possessed a constitution capable of enduring great labor and fatigue. During the last years of his life he was troubled with obscure symptoms of heart disease, which finally developed into the form known as angina pectoris, which finally caused his death quite suddenly, March 8, 1851, at the age of 74. "By his will he bequeathed three thousand dollars to the Bible Society, and the remainder of his property, amounting to about thirty thousand dollars, to erect and maintain an Academy in Billerica, 'for instruction in the higher branches of English education, and such other studies as are required of young men preparatory to entering college.' "

The academy was erected as provided, and will perpetuate for generations, in the history of that ancient town, the name of the good "old bachelor" doctor.

ELISHA BARTLETT, M. D.

A reverend gentleman on one occasion said: "There is a beautiful cathedral built by one of the princes of the Old World, which, as you look at it from one side, fascinates you with its splendor, and you exclaim, 'Nothing can be more grand!' But when you step to another side and look at it in another light, it speaks with a new beauty not seen before. As you go to still another side another vision bursts upon the gaze, seemingly more grand than the others. But you change your position yet once more, and another equally fascinating view fills the eyes." So it is with the life and character of Dr. Elisha Bartlett. Approach it by whatever avenue you may, it fascinates while it instructs, and you desire to know more of him of whom it has been said, that "his childlike simplicity, his sweet and loving disposition, his purity of life, his gentleness of temper and conduct, his honesty and uprightness were all mirrored in his face, and so strongly marked and so beautifully blended that a stranger even could not mistake his character."

Dr. Bartlett was born in Smithfield, Rhode Island, October 6, 1804. His parents possessed the unostentatious virtues and correct habits of the Society of Friends, of which they were active and consistent members. Although he did not receive a collegiate education, the loss was more than supplied by a highly finished and classical training, received at seminaries and institutions at home and abroad which rivalled the most famous universities of his time.

His medical education was pursued under several distinguished physicians. Among these were such men as Dr. Wheaton of Providence, Dr. Willard of Uxbridge, and Drs. Green and Heywood of Worcester. He

attended medical lectures in Boston and Providence, and was graduated as Doctor in Medicine at Brown University in 1826. After his graduation, he spent nearly a year in Europe, and during several months' sojourn in Paris, he placed himself under the most distinguished teachers of the healing art in that metropolis. His visit to Italy at the same time was one of the most pleasant remembrances of his life, and he ever held in vivid and grateful recollection the experiences he there enjoyed. Returning to this country late in the fall of 1827, on the 15th of December of that year, when only twenty-three years of age, he came to Lowell, and entered at once upon his professional career.

Never in the history of this city, has there lived a more studious, faithful and conscientious physician than was Dr. Bartlett. Of elegant person and accomplished manners, with rare conversational powers and an entire absence of affectation, he became at once a universal favorite, while his pure and exalted principles gave him a place in the hearts of the people and left an impression upon society which will live as long as memory shall survive, and a marked influence for good which shall reach to succeeding generations. The object of this paper will in some degree be realized if, though in an humble manner, it shall enable the citizens of Lowell — to some it may be for the first time, and to others yet once more — to catch a few glimpses of the life and character of that rare man, concerning whom Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, when speaking of his death, remarked that his loss was a "national calamity."

As a physician, he stood among the foremost this side of the Atlantic. Having enjoyed superior advantages of medical training, he was prepared to take advanced ground, and by continuous study and application to the duties of his profession, he reached a

position among the medical faculty which caused him to be recognized as a leader in the onward march of the science and practice of medicine. His method was not routine in its character, nor was it confined to medicinal treatment alone. While he was well versed in *Materia Medica*, and understood perfectly the nature and action of drugs, he yet was a firm believer in the recuperative powers of nature, and condemned a loose and indiscriminate use of medicines as showing a lack of judgment on the part of the practitioner, as unworthy of the profession as the ignorance displayed by those who are timid and undecided in the presence of disease. His discriminating and sagacious mind went deeper than the practice that rested with prescribing medicines. He went back of that. He looked for *the cause*—and sought by removing or modifying that to obtain the more important object of practical medicine, viz.: the *prevention of disease*. This he strongly believed in, and on one occasion firmly declared it to be “the great mission which now lies immediately before us.” “This,” he said, “is to constitute the great work of the next and succeeding generations.” It was such original views and fearless conduct that placed Dr. Bartlett far in advance of his times, as a medical practitioner and writer.

Although a resident of this city only a little over a decade of years, he was called to fill many offices of honor and trust. It is an honor to the medical profession that one from her ranks was first chosen to fill the position of Mayor of our city. There could be but one first mayor in our municipal history, and it was a mark of special distinction that this responsible trust should have been bestowed upon Dr. Bartlett when only thirty-two years of age. Doubtless both parties were eager to secure the advantage and the honor of the position, and

put in nomination their best and most popular men. In this contest the doctor's opponent was Rev. Eliphalet Case, an able and respected citizen, of large experience and culture, and who had been a clergyman of considerable distinction. To have triumphed in such a contest is evidence of great popular favor. Dr. Bartlett was not a politician in the usual acceptance of the term, and the duties of his official position were not altogether congenial to his studious habits and literary pursuits. But having been elected, by a respectable majority, to fill the office of chief magistrate of the city, he felt the responsibility to be a sacred trust, and taking his place at the helm, he ably and judiciously guided the new enterprise out into the untried waters of municipal government, and, after two years of wise administration, gave the keeping of that trust into other hands. It was not in an official capacity only, but also as a private citizen that he was ever ready to exert his influence on the side of justice, truth, and right. The occasions were numerous that found him exercising his voice and pen in behalf of the helpless and the unfortunate.

By frequent lectures on matters pertaining to health he sought to confer upon the people of this community the results which were to be obtained by careful attention to those conditions of sanitation and hygiene which he knew so well how to explain to the apprehension of others.

Our older citizens will recall an effort made by Dr. Bartlett in behalf of the working people of this city, which bound him to their hearts with ties never to be broken. It is well known that during the first ten or fifteen years of the industrial history in this city, the condition of those employed in our mills was peculiarly exceptional. The operatives, especially the female portion, nearly all belonged to our New England families.

They had been brought up in our country towns, and, with hardly an exception, were girls of good health and moral character. Many of them, by laboring here for a few years, laid by a comfortable sum which was generally put to most worthy uses. Some were thus enabled to relieve the anxiety of aged parents, by removing embarrassments that rested on the old homestead. Others were providing for younger brothers and sisters. Many young men who afterwards occupied places of responsibility and honor, owed their success in no small measure to the aid which their sisters gladly furnished, while they were laying the foundations of future usefulness by courses of study in the seminary, college and professional school. It seemed brutal and well-nigh sacrilegious to impugn such a state of facts, and yet a series of articles appeared in two of our leading Boston papers at that time containing a most ferocious attack upon the "manufacturing population," asserting that factory girls were obliged to live in boarding houses erected and controlled by the corporations; that the sanitary conditions of those houses were most unhealthy, that the girls were ill-fed and charged an exorbitant price for board; that the bills of mortality of the factory girls were largely increasing, showing a most unfavorable condition of their life and surroundings, and not being content with such slander, made gross charges respecting their morals and general character.

Then it was that the kind-hearted Dr. Bartlett voluntarily stood forth as a champion in their behalf, and, in a number of articles which were first published in the Lowell Daily Courier, and afterwards printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated, gave to each specific charge a careful and thorough investigation, and proved beyond all controversy by reliable evidence and unquestioned statistics that those charges were grossly false.

On another occasion his interest in the welfare of the youth of this city was shown in an address which he made to the boys of the High School on the evil effects of tobacco. This address was a friendly talk rather than a prepared speech, was given in an earnest, kindly manner, so that even the youngest could but see that he spoke to them as a father talking to his children, so interested was he in behalf of their physical growth and moral improvement.

It is a matter of record that his early efforts as a lecturer, in which he attained a world-wide reputation, especially as a medical lecturer, were made in this city.

In 1828, at the age of only twenty-four, he gave a lecture in this city before the Lowell lyceum on Contagious Diseases. Again, in 1835, he delivered the address at the dedication of Mechanics Hall on Dutton Street. In 1836, an honor which was only given to the few was bestowed upon him by an invitation to deliver an address, which he did, in the Odeon Building at Boston. The Odeon being at that time what Music Hall is today. He was also the orator on the 4th of July, 1828. This oration was delivered at Whipple's Grove, the place usually selected for such occasions. In 1836 he delivered a course of lectures on Physiology, which were largely attended by the most intelligent people of the city.

But it was in his more public duties as a medical teacher that he fulfilled the mission for which he was pre-eminently fitted by nature, and by the discipline of study and experience. It was to that work which he brought his varied and brilliant talents, his profound scholarship, and his unsurpassed gifts of eloquence. He was a master in his profession, and had been taught at those sources of knowledge to which the faculty as a

rule seldom have access. Thus equipped, he stood as an interpreter and a daysman between the teachings of the fathers of medicine and the disciples of later times. Scientific truth as stated by Dr. Bartlett seemed to have something of the power of demonstration as it fell from his lips. His influence over students also was magnetic. It was stronger than the fascination of pure intellect. It seemed to result from the force of a powerful mind ennobled by character and fired by professional enthusiasm. A kind of mesmeric influence, at once elevating and inspiring, seemed to go forth with his words. One who sat under his teachings has said, "Here were gathered sixty young men so rude, so wild, so rough, that no professor could in quiet order deliver his lecture; but no sooner did Professor Bartlett enter his lecture-room than perfect order immediately was obtained, and a profound silence was maintained until he had finished." His appearance while standing at the desk, during his lectures, is said to have been most pleasing, and his manner of delivery easy and impressive. His voice was clear and musical and seemed to be an essential part of what he said.

It was a characteristic of Prof. Bartlett to awaken within the minds of his students the higher and nobler purposes of life, and to inspire them to reach out after something better than simply following their profession as a trade, or only for mercenary purposes, and it would seem that the dullest member of the class must have caught something of his enthusiasm as he led them on with the zeal of a veteran warrior into that path which he himself so eloquently describes as the one "which was trodden by the Sydenhams, the Hallers, and the Hunters. It is the path which led Harvey to the most brilliant achievement in the annals of physiological

science. It is the path which led the more fortunate Jenner to that discovery which has embalmed his name in the gratitude and the love of all peoples and of all tongues. It is the path which led Newton up to the loftiest pinnacle ever reached by uninspired humanity—a pinnacle crowned with light of ineffable brightness, where the veil was rent which, from the creation of the world, had hung before the universe, hiding its wonder and its mystery, and man was suffered to look, for the first time, out upon the beauty, the majesty, the unchangeable order of the handiwork of God. Into this path be it our effort and our happiness to enter.”

The amount of good accomplished by this earnest teacher and scholar in his quiet but effective way cannot be estimated, as for many years he continued to sow throughout the extent of this broad land the seeds of sound medical education, and incite his pupils to aspire to the higher walks of the profession. That influence is still expanding in the community, and, like the beams of the morning sun, gilding and brightening whatever it touches.

In 1832, when but twenty-eight years of age, he entered upon his first professorship, at Pittsfield, which he held for several years.

For some time he occupied a chair in the medical department of Dartmouth College, and another also in Baltimore. During six consecutive years he held the position of Professor in Transylvania University, Kentucky, and for one year in the Louisville University. A professorship was also offered to him in the medical school at Woodstock, Vt., in 1828, which he declined, but that school afterwards obtained his services. He lectured there eight years and at the same time held his position in Kentucky. His last position was in the celebrated College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York.

There, associated with such men as Parker, Gilman, Clark and other kindred spirits of equal eminence, he reached a height worthy of his ambition, and one which he was every way fitted to adorn.

He also attained great eminence as an author, both as a medical and miscellaneous writer. His first efforts with his pen commenced when he was seventeen years of age.

While he was a resident of this city, amid his many and arduous duties, he started a monthly journal entitled "Medical Literature and American Medical Students' Gazette," which was published here in 1832 and afterward in Boston. This journal was most ably conducted, and contributions were sent to it by the best writers of that time.

Dr. Bartlett's editorial ability was recognized by that celebrated and accomplished writer, philanthropist and statesman, Horace Mann, who engaged him to revise for him "Paley's History of Natural Theology." This involved considerable labor, as it extended through five or six volumes.

It was while living here, as he says in his dedication of the work to Dr. John O. Green, that his material was obtained for his excellent book on "Fevers," which to this day is a standard authority on that subject in the medical schools of this country. This work, together with his "Essay on the Philosophy of Mental Science," have placed his name high in the annals of medical literature, both in this country and in Europe.

He was a constant contributor to our standard medical journals, and his published books and pamphlets, both professional and miscellaneous, are numerous. It seems impossible that one man could accomplish in so short a life more than what has been ascribed to Dr.

Bartlett, yet he added another to his graces—that of poetry.

To enter that inner sanctuary was hardly the privilege of his friends when living, and certainly intrusion into the sacred place must not be made now. But our own poet, Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, who was a life-long and intimate friend of Dr. Bartlett, has permitted us for a moment to catch something of the beauty of Dr. Bartlett's poetic nature, as he describes that little offering written during the last year of his life, and entitled "Simple Settings in Verse for Six Portraits and Pictures from Mr. Dickens' Gallery." Of that offering Dr. Holmes says: "When to the friends he had loved there came as a farewell gift, not a last effort of the learning and wisdom they had been taught to expect from him, but a little book with a few songs in it, songs with his whole heart in them, they knew that his hour was come, and their tears fell fast as they read the loving thoughts that he had clothed in words of natural beauty and melody. The cluster of evening primroses had opened, and the night was close at hand."

Would that a life so pure, so noble, and so self-sacrificing for others might have had an easy and painless exit. But this was not to be his lot, and for many months he was a great sufferer from an inexorable disease which laid hold upon the central springs of his life.

But during the long weeks of suffering he was ever patient and ready to meet his intimate friends with that cordial welcome which had been characteristic of his manner during health, but which then was seen to be an effort of his strong and indomitable will.

His Christian faith grew stronger and his hope brightened, as during the brief respites from suffering,

which the nature of the disease allowed him, he engaged his strong and vigorous mind in contemplating those great problems of man's eternal destiny, the realities of which he was soon to enter upon, and, having sought that peace which alone can satisfy in the final hour, he "found rest under the shadow of Calvary," and on the 19th of July, 1855, at the age of fifty-one, in the prime of life, he left it for a higher and a better.

Truly it may be said of him,

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

The adjoining town of Chelmsford has not been without her representatives in the medical profession, who have ranked among the ablest physicians of Middlesex County. Among the physicians who have practiced in Chelmsford, the name of

JOHN C. BARTLETT, M. D.,

stands prominent. This gentleman was born in Charlestown, Mass., October 5, 1808. His academic training was received at Pembroke Academy, N. H., and his collegiate education at Bowdoin College, Me., where he graduated in the class of 1828. Dr. Bartlett received his medical instruction under the direction of Dr. Thompson of his native town, and attended lectures at Harvard University, graduating in 1831. Soon after receiving his degree he settled in Chelmsford, where he continued in practice for forty-six years. During his long residence of nearly half a century in the town, he held the confidence and

esteem of his townsmen and the public to a remarkable degree.

As a practitioner, Dr. Bartlett possessed those qualifications, which are essential to a successful physician. His mind was active and discriminating; he was a good student, a careful observer, and interested in all matters pertaining to the advancement of the profession. Against quackery and all forms of imposition, when practiced either by regular members of the profession or by those outside of its ranks, he was very decided, and would never tolerate the use of those preparations which are generally known as "patent medicines," because he was unwilling to employ drugs that he was not allowed to know the constituents of, and so be able to judge, on scientific principles, whether or not they were suited to the disease which it had been stated they would cure. In his manners he was the type of a gentleman, and his presence in the sick room was always welcomed.

It may be said of Dr. Bartlett that he was a many-sided man, yet his talents were not only marked in their character, but they also manifested themselves in a variety of ways. He was much interested in the business of husbandry, and for many years was a member of the State Board of Agriculture. He was also interested in educational matters, being at one time a member of the school committee of the town, also a member of the Board of Trustees of Westford Academy, and for many years held the honorable position of president of this board. In the Unitarian denomination, with which he was connected, he was an active member, and for several years was president of the North Middlesex Unitarian Conference. He was a fine musician, served as chorister for many years, and was a musical composer of considerable reputation.

During the last few years of his life Dr. Bartlett retired from active practice. A short time before his death he removed to Boston, where, after a brief illness of a few weeks, he died of paralysis, January 13, 1877, at the age of 72. The esteem and respect in which he was held by his professional brethren will be seen by the following extract from the fitting testimonial prepared by a committee, of which Dr. John O. Green was chairman, and adopted at the next regular meeting of the Medical Society after the doctor's death :

“Above pretence and show, above the arts by which so many, half as well prepared, thrust themselves into notoriety, as a physician he was esteemed by those who had an opportunity to learn his worth. He made no claim to extensive medical lore, he attempted no difficult surgical operations, but he had what all the schools of medicine cannot of themselves supply, an observing mind, a retentive memory, a good judgment, and a high sense of responsibility. His standard of professional honor was high, and he never descended to mean and petty tricks. For forty-six years he held the position of a medical man in a small country village, so different from that of a city practitioner. The division of labor and responsibility in large towns very naturally shuts the physician up to his chosen appropriate sphere ; but the country physician will find many opportunities and calls to do good, for which the faculty, as such, have no prescriptions. Happy is he who has the power and disposition to meet such calls, and no better evidence of Dr. Bartlett's claims upon the respect and confidence of the community in which he so long lived could be wished for and seen than were manifested by the large gathering at his funeral and grave.”

Another physician whose name is not so familiar as Dr. Bartlett's, but who practiced medicine some time in Chelmsford and became distinguished in the profession, is

RUFUS WYMAN, M. D.

Dr. Wyman was a native of Woburn, where he was born July 16, 1778. He received his early education at the town school, and at the age of twenty-two entered Harvard University, graduating in 1799. For some time after his graduation he was engaged in teaching, both in his own and adjoining towns.

In 1810 he commenced his medical studies with Dr. Brown of Boston, receiving at the same time clinical instruction at the almshouse in Leverett Street. But, owing to the illness of Dr. Brown, it became necessary to make a change of preceptors, which proved most fortunate to him, as after completing his studies under the direction of that able and widely known physician, Dr. Jeffries of Boston, and upon receiving his degree in 1813, he was invited into partnership by his distinguished teacher. This invitation he accepted, and the pleasant relation continued for nearly a year, when, owing to a pulmonary difficulty, Dr Wyman thought it best to seek a location farther inland. He therefore selected the town of Chelmsford, where he at once settled, and by his professional attainments, and the watchful care and interest which he always manifested in behalf of his patients, he won and retained the name of the "beloved physician," which clung to him in after years when engaged in a wider and more active field of usefulness.

Although but a few years in practice at Chelmsford, yet his experience there and the knowledge gained by his habits of study and observation proved of great

value as preparatory to his more public professional life work elsewhere. It was while in practice in Chelmsford that he interested himself in the education of young men in the profession. Several of his students attained high rank as physicians. One, who will long be remembered by the citizens of Lowell and Dracut, and who was the subject of our first paper, was Dr. Israel Hildreth.

It was also while living there, that a case occurred in his practice which will illustrate his success as a surgeon, the circumstances of which have been kindly furnished by Dr. Charles Dutton of Tyngsborough, and are as follows :

“The late Mr. Francis Parker, who was a well-known and highly esteemed citizen of Chelmsford, when quite a lad, was kicked by a horse, the blow being received on his head. The accident occurred late in the afternoon, and early in the evening Dr. Wyman saw his patient, and, after making a careful examination, he decided to remove a piece of the bone by the process known as trepanning. Not having a trephine in his possession, he started early the next morning and rode on horseback to Boston, purchased the instrument and returned the same day, and the next morning he performed the operation, which was successful. The patient recovered and lived nearly seventy years after that event. At his death, which occurred about a year ago, an autopsy was held, and this peculiarity was observed, which may be of interest to the profession: The aperture had not been covered by new bone, but in the place of it there was a firm elastic substance, which, during all these years had performed all the requirements of the original bone.”

When, in 1847, the buildings of the McLean Asylum at Charlestown (now Somerville) were in progress, it

became necessary to appoint a physician and superintendent. There were many factors to be carefully considered in that appointment, in order that the beginning of such a project might be successful. In the first place it was a new enterprise, and of course subject to discouragement and lack of coöperation from certain members of the profession, and to no little prejudice from the public. Another drawback was the unfinished state of the buildings, the plans of some of which had not been drawn. These things, together with the character of the inmates for whom the asylum was designed, made the choice of a physician and superintendent one of more than ordinary difficulty and importance. It would seem natural that the choice should have been made from among the able and scientific medical men whose homes could be seen from the elevation on which the institution was to stand. But no! Others, perhaps of equal merit, were passed by, and from a little quiet town in another and distant part of the county was selected the man who was to fill that most important position—that man was Dr. Wyman.

By his removal the town of Chelmsford lost a worthy citizen, an able physician, and a Christian gentleman, but the asylum over which he presided as executive officer for nearly twenty years, gained a wise and judicious superintendent and a thoughtful and conscientious physician. That Dr. Wyman felt the responsibility thus entrusted to him, may be inferred from the fact that soon after his acceptance of that position he visited all of the more important hospitals in this country, for the purpose of gaining all important information possible with regard to the best arrangement in the construction of such buildings, and the best methods in the management of the inmates. By this means he was enabled to

render valuable assistance to the architect who had the charge of the work. When the buildings were completed and he was fairly settled in his new position, he gave to it his whole care and attention, and during the first twelve years of his service he was absent from the institution but one night. If this was not devotion to his work, where shall we find it? At one time during his connection with that asylum, an additional and larger building was erected for the accommodation of the male boarders. This building was erected under the sole supervision of Dr. Wyman. Both the architectural and working plans were drawn by his own hand.

His success in the care and treatment of the unfortunate class under his care was exceptional, and, after seventeen years of service in that capacity, he resigned his position, and removed to Roxbury, intending to relinquish his practice, and seek that rest and quiet, to which the trying and peculiar duties of his responsible position, and which he had so faithfully discharged, certainly entitled him.

But this was in a measure denied him, as repeated and urgent requests for his advice and treatment with reference to the insane induced him to "receive into his house for treatment and cure, many of this unfortunate class of sufferers, up to within a few weeks of his death."

Dr. Wyman held many offices in the Massachusetts Medical Society, in which he was an active member. For several years he was a counsellor and censor, and in 1840-1 he was president of the society. In 1830 he delivered the annual discourse, his subject on that occasion being "Mental Philosophy as connected with Mental Disease." He was also a strong temperance man, and at the time of his death was president of the Norfolk Temperance Society.

His death was unusually quiet and peaceful, being so calm that, after life was extinct, it is said a glass of water which he held in his hand, was removed unspilled.

He died June 22, 1842, at the age of 64, of bronchial disease, leaving two sons, Morrill and Jefferies Wyman, who have also become eminent in the profession of their father.

Chelmsford, the mother town of our city, has had not only many able and skilful physicians within her borders, but is specially fortunate, that she may claim the honor of having been the early home of one who has reached eminent distinction elsewhere in the profession of medicine.

WILLARD PARKER, M. D.,

though yet living, at the advanced age of eighty-three, has been so long absent from his early home, and has reached so high a position among the medical faculty of New York, that no apology is needed for adding a few words in reference to him in these memorabilia of the eminent physicians of the past. The ancestors of Dr. Parker were of the good "English Puritan stock," and he was consequently endowed with a sound mental capacity and a strong physical constitution. He was well fitted by nature for the long life of laborious usefulness which it has been his privilege to enjoy.

Until he was nineteen years of age he worked on his father's farm in Chelmsford, which, it is said, is now owned by the doctor. During a part of these early years he taught a district school, and thus obtained means to pursue his education.

He entered Harvard at the age of twenty-three, and graduated in the class of 1826. While in his freshman

year, an incident occurred which turned his attention to the choice of surgery as his profession.

Having pursued his medical studies under the direction of Drs. S. D. Townsend and John C. Warren, and having acceptably filled the position of house physician in U. S. Marine Hospital at Chelsea, and a similar position in the Massachusetts General Hospital, he graduated at Harvard Medical School in 1830.

Early in his medical studies his ability as a lecturer was recognized. During the summer of 1829, nearly a year before his graduation, he was invited to deliver a course of lectures on anatomy in the medical school at Woodstock, Vt., which he did the year immediately following his graduation. In rapid succession he was appointed to fill respectively the chair of anatomy and the chair of surgery in the Berkshire Medical Institution at Pittsfield, Mass., lecturing twice daily. At the same time he continued to hold his place in the school at Woodstock, Vt. In 1836 the chair of surgery was filled by him in the Cincinnati Medical College. Soon after this appointment he visited Europe, where he spent considerable time in the English and French hospitals. Returning to this country, he was called, in 1839, to the chair of surgery in the College of Physicians in New York. It is not in that city alone that Dr. Parker stands at the head of the medical profession, but his reputation extends throughout the country as well. He was one of the originators of hospital clinics, and also one of the founders of the Academy of Medicine, of which he was at one time president. It was from the Academy of Medicine that the New York board of health originated, and the amount of work of which he has been the leader in this connection, may be estimated from these words: "This board has inspired most of the legislation upon

hygiene, reforming our building laws, giving us improved sewerage, checking the adulteration of food, demonstrated the necessity of pure water and proper ventilation in all parts of our dwellings; it has fought manfully for the preservation of our public parks, the lungs of the city; it has stimulated tree planting, and aided in beautifying the city in a variety of ways."

The town of Chelmsford may well feel not only honored with the record of these physicians who have practiced within her borders, but may also justly be proud of this eminent son, of whom the following pen pictures are fitting words for our close:

"As a teacher Dr. Parker enjoyed the highest reputation. With a fine personal presence, and a courteous and affable manner which wins the personal regard of his pupils, he also rivets their attention by his direct and lucid manner of unfolding the principles of his art, and the unexcelled, simple and common-sense character of his operations and general treatment."

"With an erect carriage and elastic step, and an eye and features kindling with animation, he is one of the best examples of the preservation of a splendid physical and mental organization by the observance of those laws of health which he has so long and so ably advocated."

JOSIAH CROSBY, M. D.

To mention the name of Crosby in this vicinity the public mind turns at once with feelings of great respect to our venerable and highly esteemed citizen, Hon. Nathan Crosby. But as you cross the border of this state into that of New Hampshire, the name of Crosby is found to be associated with the brightest names in the medical history of the "Granite State."

In April, 1828, Dr. Josiah Crosby came to this city, by the advice and recommendation of Samuel Batchelder, Esq., the first agent of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. Dr. Crosby, who was a brother of the judge, was born in Sandwich, N. H., February 1, 1794. His opportunities for acquiring an education were much the same as those enjoyed by many of the New England lads of those days. But the opportunities he had were improved, and he made rapid progress in his preliminary and academical studies. He first attended the town school, and afterwards received private instruction from Rev. Mr. Hidden of Tamworth. He was also a pupil at one time at Amherst Academy.

During those years he gave special attention to penmanship, being a careful student of Gifford's system, which at that time was very popular. By such attention and steady practice, he became an elegant penman, and often aided himself pecuniarily by giving private lessons in writing. He also taught several terms in the country schools. His profession he studied with his father, Dr. Asa Crosby, who was one of the pioneers in the practice of medicine in the "Granite State," and distinguished as a surgeon throughout New England. He attended three courses of lectures at Dartmouth Medical College, and spent "a year reading and riding with Prof. Nathan Smith to learn his practice." In 1816 he received his medical degree from Dartmouth, of which Dr. Nathan Smith was a distinguished professor.

In 1828 he came to Lowell, where he remained five years. During his residence in this city he was active in organizing and carrying on several of our institutions which have since become permanent. He was one of the founders of the Appleton Street (now Eliot) Congregational Church, in 1830. His connection with that

early church was marked with the same earnest and conscientious endeavor that was characteristic of his whole Christian life.

In 1831 he was chosen one of the Selectmen of Lowell. It was during his term of service that the cholera raged so fearfully throughout the country, and on its near approach to this city a meeting was called by the selectmen, and on the advice of Dr. Crosby it was voted to send a delegation, consisting of medical gentlemen, to New York to ascertain the best means of prevention, and the nature and treatment of that disease. The medical gentlemen appointed as members of that delegation were Drs. Green, Bartlett, and Huntington. After their return the report of this committee was published in the Lowell Courier for general information.

Dr. Crosby was also one of the early members of the Middlesex Medical Association, a detailed account of which was given in the first paper of this series. It was here in this city that, by careful study and close application to the duties of his profession, he laid the foundation of his future eminent career as one of the most distinguished surgeons in New Hampshire.

In the fall of 1832, he was induced to leave Lowell and enter into a manufacturing enterprise of considerable promise, but it not proving successful, he turned again to his profession, and in 1844 removed to Manchester, N. H., where he remained in successful practice for thirty years. It was while living in Manchester, in 1853, and again in 1860, that his genius as an inventor placed his name high upon the roll of benefactors, of whom the medical profession has contributed a liberal share. By one of these he gave to the profession "the method of making extension of fractured limbs by the use of adhesive strips." The benefit to be derived from

this method was at once recognized, and it was adopted by the members of the profession, and to-day it is the only one that is generally used.

His other invention, which, by its very nature, is more widely known outside the profession, than the one just considered, is what is termed the "invalid bed."* This bed is simple in its construction, and so substantially made that it will not easily get out of repair, and its arrangement is so easy of comprehension that a child twelve years of age can manage it. Perhaps the following description will enable all to understand the construction of it: Take an ordinary bedstead, and in place of the slats use as many or more strong bands, which are held in position by pins or hooks. Underneath these bands is placed the bed proper, of smaller size, and so adjusted that it can be raised or lowered by simply turning a crank at the head of the bedstead. It will readily be seen that the bed can be brought into position under the bedstead and raised to a sufficient height to take the weight of the patient entirely from the straps, while he lies as upon an ordinary bed. A reverse turning of the crank lowers the bed, which can be taken out and the linen changed, and at the same time the patient will be resting upon the bands, which when the bed is in place remain perfectly loose and unnoticed. There is no kind of disease, even the most prostrating, in which it cannot be used, while in cases of fractures, and where lotions or ointments are applied to the body, it is indispensable. The acknowledged merits of this bed are shown by the large numbers which are now in use and by testimonials

* The Crosby bed has been in use in this city more than twenty years. In 1868 one was procured, with some difficulty, on the occasion of Dr. S. L. Dana's accident, which proved of so much comfort and convenience that he desired, after his death, it should be given to the Lowell Dispensary for the use of any sufferer. It has been in almost constant use, and the Dispensary has added another for its patients or any others who may need. St. John's Hospital has now three, and an agency for its sale has been established with our well-known Messrs. Adams & Co., on Central Street.

from all the leading surgeons in the country. It has been generally adopted in all our public and private hospitals. The poor and suffering in our hospitals have been spared much pain and discomfort by this invention. It was by the use of the Crosby bed that the lamented Garfield was relieved when suffering from the effects of the assassin's bullet. Those who devote their genius to the relief of human suffering deserve and win the tribute of gratitude from the popular heart. It has well been said of Dr. Crosby, "the skilful physician, the Christian gentleman and sympathizing friend were combinations of character in him rarely excelled."

As Dr. Crosby's medical career was passed principally in New Hampshire, it may be well to notice what was his standing in that state and how he was regarded by the profession. Dr. Crosby joined the New Hampshire Medical Society in 1818, ten years before he came to Lowell. In 1850 he was chosen president of the Society, and in 1857 he was elected vice-president of the American Medical Association, and was also made an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. A committee, appointed by the Society to draw up some expression of their high esteem of his professional worth, reported as follows :

"During the fifty years that he has been a fellow of this Society he has often filled positions of honor, trust and responsibility. He was one to whom in every emergency we were inclined to turn. During this long period we feel assurance in saying these responsibilities have been discharged alike honorably to the record of this Society and of his own. Every honest worker in the profession had his hearty sympathy, no matter how young or inexperienced. Such an one could go to him feeling that he could lay bare his heart, and that no unkindly criticism would be made on account of his inexperience. On the contrary, he was sure of obtaining the rich results of a well-stored mind.

"Dr. Crosby had those qualities that made him a superior surgeon. Possessed of abundant resources, he was able to meet the

emergencies of any case however complicated, and upon the failure of ordinary methods of treatment he could readily supply their place by his inventive genius, and thus all of his operations were complete. His contributions to medical science were of a character that reflected the highest honor upon him as a physician and skilful surgeon, and placed him in no mean rank as a benefactor of his race."

At a meeting of his associates of Manchester the following were among the resolutions which they adopted :

"*Resolved*, That we mourn the loss of one who was eminently qualified for the practice of medicine, by nature and early training and association, to which natural advantages were added, in time, an education and universally clear judgment, enlightened by a familiarity with the opinions and practice of the most eminent authorities.

"*Resolved*, That he advanced his profession by his original researches and by his inventive genius, and adorned it by exhibiting in the practice of it the honor, dignity, courtesy, self-sacrificing spirit and benevolence which have caused it to be respected by the wise and good in all ages."

This sketch would be incomplete did we not in a word note the Christian character which was so marked in the person of Dr. Crosby. In 1844 he assisted in founding the Franklin Street Church in Manchester, and was one of its most efficient supporters till the hour of his death. "His religious life," said Rev. Dr. Tucker of Andover, his late pastor, "was simple, real, true; with him there was no pretence; he had no beliefs except those which were thorough; no little question vexed him; he loved God, trusted his Savior, and worked for the welfare of his fellow men. Such was his record from first to last. He looked with a calm, clear eye into the future, and, so far as we know, was troubled with no doubts."

Those were the words spoken at his funeral, and in a letter received from the reverend gentleman within a

few weeks, in referring to the influence which Dr. Crosby exerted in the city where he lived, among other things he says: "Dr. Crosby was a man of great energy and decision. He had the power of making large plans and of carrying them out with painstaking detail. He took the careful oversight of whatever was entrusted to him, and he always brought out a given work in season. He was remarkable for promptness. There was a nobility of endowment in mental and moral qualities which made him a conspicuous citizen and a most influential Christian. Men esteemed him for his worth, his charity, his positiveness, his public spirit, and his natural and sincere piety."

Dr. Crosby in his early years had poor health and gave little promise of long life; but after his recovery from typhoid fever while living in Concord, he enjoyed general good health until the last two years of his life. On Saturday, the second day of January, 1875, he dressed a broken arm in the morning, and in the afternoon sat, in his own parlor, for the finishing touches of the portrait painter, in his usual cheerfulness of spirits; but fifteen minutes after the artist had left him, at three o'clock P. M., he was stricken with paralysis, from which he did not rally, but passed away on the seventh, at four o'clock in the morning, at the advanced age of nearly eighty-one years, leaving a son, Dr. George A. Crosby, who is at present an eminent practitioner at Manchester.

CALVIN THOMAS, M. D.

At the quarterly meeting of the Middlesex North District Medical Society, held in this city January 31, 1883, a diploma which is now in the possession of Dr. John O. Green, was exhibited to the members of the Society.

This diploma, bearing the date 1824, and which was quite large, measuring twenty-nine inches in length, by twenty-six in breadth, was of curious workmanship and design, having prominently displayed at the top a figure representing Æsculapius, the god of medicine, together with the coat of arms of the state, and at the bottom the seal of the Massachusetts Medical Society, made in red wax, and placed upon a circular piece of tin, which had been securely fitted to the parchment. It was not only a curiosity, when compared with those of the present day, being in size nearly six times as large and of more elaborate pattern, but possessed additional interest, as having engraved upon its face the name of Calvin Thomas, M. D., of Tyngsborough, who although thirty years have elapsed since his death, is still remembered as a man of sterling integrity, great public worth, and high professional standing.

The gentleman to whom this diploma belonged was born in Chesterfield, Cheshire County, N. H., December 22, 1765. On the death of his parents, which occurred when he was quite young, he was placed under the care of an uncle then living in Rowe, Mass., but afterwards returned to his former home in Chesterfield, where he worked on the farm until he was seventeen years of age. He then learned the trade of a carpenter. But ill health compelled him to relinquish it, and at the age of twenty-four he commenced his medical studies with Dr. Josiah Goodhue, of Putney, Vt., remaining with him for four years, during the last one of which he was associated with his preceptor, in practice.

“It is the intelligent eye of the careful observer,” says a writer, “which gives these apparently trivial phenomena their value,” of which history furnishes many examples.

It was the swinging lamp suspended from the roof of the cathedral at Pisa that suggested to Galileo the pendulum—the subsequent use of which has placed his name on the imperishable page of history. It was as simple a thing as the floating seaweed that enabled Columbus to assure the sailors in his ship that land could not be far off, and with this assurance, to quell the mutiny that had arisen among them. So the most ordinary occasions will often show the influence by which a future life shall be directed, and in some measure controlled.

It was so with Dr. Thomas. Leaving the home of his former teacher, he started on horseback to seek a place where he might settle and pursue with reasonable encouragement his chosen profession.

It is not known that he had any place in view, and in all probability he had no previous knowledge of the town of Tyngsborough, until, in the course of his journey, he rode through it and stopped at the tavern for dinner, or perhaps a night's lodging. Be that as it may, he went no further, but at once settled there and entered into a practice which he continued uninterruptedly for fifty-six years. The personal appearance of Dr. Thomas is said to have been very striking. He was quite tall—a little over six feet in height—of florid complexion, having a large and compact frame, his usual weight being nearly two hundred.

It is difficult in these days to picture definitely the varied conditions under which the physicians of our New England towns labored, and the hardships, to which they were exposed in the sparsely populated districts of fifty years ago. The experience of the subject of this sketch was no exception to the rule.

The town of Tyngsborough was small, and the number of inhabitants during the best years of his

practice did not exceed eight hundred people. Like that of other physicians of his time his labors were not confined to his own town, but included those adjoining, often reaching great distances.

Among the towns in which Dr. Thomas largely practiced, in addition to Tyngsborough, were Dunstable, Groton, Westford, Chelmsford, Dracut, and Pelham, N. H.

His own town was peculiarly situated, and entailed upon him an amount of extra labor which was very exceptional.

The town is nearly equally divided by the Merrimack, which, until within a few years, and long after the doctor was dead, was passable at that place only by a ferry, so that a ready and prompt means of crossing the river was not always available. At certain seasons of the year, especially in the spring, the river being full of floating ice, the ferry could not be used, and at other times the ice was not sufficiently strong to bear a person upon it.

These facts, with the accidents and delays to which ferry-boats in those days were liable, made it necessary for the doctor during a large portion of the year to come down to Pawtucket Bridge, a distance of seven miles, and, crossing the river at that place, he had to travel up on the other side an equal distance, which, with the return trip, made a distance of twenty-eight miles to visit patients in his own town. This does not present a very pleasant retrospect, especially when the condition of the country roads in March or April is taken into consideration. Had such extra labor been of rare occurrence it might be passed without notice, but upon reliable information it is learned he had a large practice on the east side of the river, which required his attention almost daily, and the aggregate

number of weeks in the year when it would be impossible to cross the river by any means other than a bridge the reader can easily estimate.

As a physician he ranked second to none. His educational advantages had been somewhat limited, yet from observation and experience he had learned those lessons which are full of practical knowledge, and when studied with fidelity, reveal much useful information. One peculiarity in the practice of physicians in those early times, was that they not only kept all their medicines, but prepared or compounded them for use. This involved a great amount of labor and skill. As an illustration of Dr. Thomas' skill in this direction, he compounded a certain cathartic pill, which, from its excellence, obtained quite a notoriety in his day, being used by many other physicians, and is still used and known as "Thomas' Pill."

In 1806 he was elected a fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society. The communication which he received on that occasion, and of which the following is a copy, will throw some light upon the honor which that event, in those days, conferred :

Boston, October 4, 1806.

SIR—I have the pleasure to announce to you, that at a meeting of the Council of the Massachusetts Medical Society, upon the first instant, you were elected a fellow of the institution.

Allow me to hope, sir, that the election will be gratifying to you, as the interests of the Society will always be promoted by your attention and communications. The members are assessed two dollars annually. You will oblige me by a line expressing your acceptance or non-acceptance of the fellowship.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS WELSH,

Cor. Sec'y Mass. Med. Soc.

DR. CALVIN THOMAS, Tyngsborough.

His devotion to this Society, of which he was a counsellor for more than twenty years, is worthy of notice. For this and his recognized professional ability he received, in 1824, the honorary degree of M. D. from Harvard University. The character of that honored institution, even at that early period, is a sufficient guarantee that the honor was not bestowed unworthily.

How deeply he was interested in the education of those just entering professional study, may be inferred from the fact that "he educated fourteen students, several of whom became distinguished in their profession." That Dr. Thomas acquired a large practice, and was zealous in his work, may be seen from the words of one, a relative of the family, doubtless the only one now living, who says: "He left behind him thirty large day-books or journals, in which he systematically recorded, day by day, the name and residence of every patient, the visit, the medicine prescribed, the disease or accident and the charge for service, with frequent notices of the weather, etc., and but very few days are there in fifty years in which some such service was not rendered or recorded. The day preceding his last sickness, and only a week before his death, being then almost 87 years old, he successfully reduced a dislocated humerus with only the assistance of a neighbor called in to aid him."

While his strong physical constitution and wonderful power of endurance will be seen from the following minute, which is found written in his journal December 22, 1849: "This day I am eighty-four years old, and crossed the Merrimack River in a canoe, walked one mile to visit a patient."

In another capacity he served his fellow-men with a fidelity which was ever characteristic of his life. For

twenty-eight years he held a commission as justice of the peace, under Governors Strong, Gerry, Brooks, and Lincoln. On certain days of the week he held a justice court at his house, performing such duties as legally come before a judge of a police court. It always has been the case, and is likely to continue to be, that those who are defeated in any trial at law will feel that they have not been fairly dealt with. Such cases doubtless occurred during the administration of Justice Thomas. But with those exceptions, his traditional reputation in that capacity is that he gave a full and fair hearing to both sides, and rendered an honest and impartial decision.

It may be inferred from his will that his religious views were in accord with those of the liberal and catholic spirit of the Unitarians, as he left bequests to the American Unitarian Association for the promotion of the Unitarian religion in the Mississippi Valley, and also to the president of Harvard University to be used at his discretion for the benefit of theological students. He also left a considerable sum to the Unitarian Society in Tyngsborough, and one hundred dollars to the Massachusetts Medical Society, for the purchase of medical books.

Thus he infused the spirit of his faith into the work of his daily life, which was long and useful. A merciful Providence saved him from a long and wearing sickness, as after a short illness of less than a week, he died October 23, 1851, at the age of eighty-six years and ten months. Thus another of those early physicians of New England, after a long and laborious career of usefulness, passed away.

AUGUSTUS PEIRCE, M. D.

A contemporary with Dr. Thomas, for nearly twenty years of his practice at Tyngsborough, was Dr. Augustus Peirce, who was born at New Salem, in this state, March 13, 1803.

He fitted for college under the direction of a legal gentleman living in his native town, and entered Harvard University, graduating in the class of 1820. While in college he was universally recognized as the "wit" of the class. He was also of a strong poetical turn of mind, and during his junior year, and when only seventeen years of age, he wrote an epic poem of a humorous cast, called the "Rebelliad," which was delivered before the "College Engine Club," in July, 1819. The poem was received with great enthusiasm by the students, who were very desirous of having it printed, but this he would not permit them to do. Says one in writing in reference to it: "A copy of parts of it, which related to members of the faculty, was posted on the president's door by some one unfriendly to its author. The next day President Kirkland called Peirce to his study to give him an admonition for 'cutting prayers,' when he took the opportunity of alluding to the poem. He told him that he had nothing to say to *him* in regard to what he found on his door, for he knew very well that such a thing would not be done by the author of the lines when he had once publicly spoken them. 'But,' said he, 'Peirce, I think you would be more regular in attending morning prayers if you retired earlier in the evening and did not sit up so late *writing poor poetry.*'"

Just how much of censure the venerable president intended to convey in his closing words, is not known, but as nothing further was said to him on the subject by

the faculty, it is supposed that little attention was given to it by that body. But the poem was not destined to be lost, as copies of it, in manuscript, have been handed from class to class in that institution, and successive generations of students, although strangers to him, have enjoyed reading it or listening to its recitation by their own witty geniuses. A few years before the doctor's death it was printed for private circulation, and the original copy of it is now in the University library at Cambridge.

After his graduation he studied medicine with Dr. Shattuck of Boston, and commenced practice at Nashua, N. H. Remaining there but a short time, in 1839, at the request of Dr. Thomas, he removed to Tyngsborough, where he remained in active practice until his death.

Dr. Peirce was peculiarly fitted for a professional career. Possessed of affable and agreeable manners, a sound judgment and quick perception, he soon acquired an extensive and permanent popularity, which was not confined either to his own or adjoining towns.

He loved his profession and gave to it his best and constant endeavors. It is said that during his residence at Tyngsborough he also had a considerable practice in Nashua, to which place he made one or more visits every week for over fifteen years. For a few years before his death, Dr. Peirce appeared to be in failing health, the cause of which could not, at first, be accounted for, but it was finally supposed to be caused by poisoning from the lead pipe connected with his well. A short time before his death the pipe was taken up, and upon examination it was found that the inner surface of the pipe was thickly coated with the oxide of lead.

But it had done its work, and after several weeks of intense suffering, he died May 20, 1849, at the age of forty-seven years.

By his own request an autopsy was held, at which a portion of the brain, lungs, kidney, liver, heart, and the whole of the stomach were removed. These were brought to this city and placed in the hands of our well-known citizen and expert chemist, the late Dr. Samuel L. Dana, for examination. After several weeks of thorough analysis he made a report, in which he stated that traces of lead were found in all of the organs removed, even the brain, adding in conclusion that "on the whole the evidence of the presence of lead in the organs of Dr. Peirce is unmistakable. The quantity, though exceedingly small, is but another proof how minute a quantity of lead may cause cruel disease, from which the patient is released only by death."

AUGUSTUS F. PEIRCE, M. D.

It was only a few years that Dr. Augustus F. Peirce, who was a son of the subject of the preceding sketch, practiced his profession in Tyngsborough. Yet in that brief period he endeared himself to the hearts of the people in a remarkable degree.

"None knew him but to love him,
Nor named him but to praise."

Born in Nashua, N. H., August 11, 1827, he early in life manifested a desire to enter the profession of his father. Under his direction the son fitted for the medical department of Harvard University, which he entered in 1846.

Owing to the failing health of his father, he was induced to alter his previous plan, and in the fall of 1847 he left the medical school at Cambridge and entered that of Bowdoin, hoping to complete his studies more speedily.

While there his father died, and although but twenty-two years of age, he at once commenced practice in his native town. "The respect and confidence felt by all for the deceased parent was transferred to the son. How well he sustained himself in this trying position and more than justified the confidence of his friends is known to many who mourned his early death."

Dr. Peirce gave great promise of usefulness, and doubtless, had he lived, would have made his mark in the community and become an honor to the profession. But New England's dread destroyer, consumption, laid hold upon his young life, and after several months of gradual wasting away, he died, May 18, 1855, at the age of 28.

HARLIN PILLSBURY, M. D.

Our citizens generally will not remember many of the medical gentlemen who have been the subjects of the previous papers. But nearly all of us will readily recall the name of Dr. Harlin Pillsbury, whose familiar form we were wont to see almost daily on the streets of this city, as he was busily engaged with the duties of his profession.

Dr. Pillsbury was born in Hanover, N. H., November 30, 1797, and received his early education in the schools of that town and at the academy at Atkinson, N. H. In 1819 he entered Dartmouth College, graduating in 1823.

In August of that year he commenced his medical studies with Dr. Rufus Kittredge, of Chester, N. H. Subsequently he studied with Dr. William Graves, of Deerfield, N. H. In 1824 he attended medical lectures in Boston, being at that time a pupil with Dr. J. H.

Lowe, of that city. At the same time he received clinical instruction at the North District Dispensary.

In 1826 he practiced several months at Kingston, N. Y., and in November of that year received his degree in medicine from Dartmouth Medical College, and in January, 1827, he came to Lowell, and at once commenced practice. Having enjoyed the advantages of study under several preceptors, and attended courses of lectures at two of our best medical institutions, and having acquired practical knowledge during a period of service at the Boston Dispensary and also in New York, he was well fitted on coming to Lowell to enter at once upon a large practice, which it was his fortune to retain during his long residence here of forty-seven years.

In person, Dr. Pillsbury was a little above the average height, and although never of a robust constitution, he yet possessed an unusual degree of bodily strength and activity.

In his deportment he possessed a suavity of manner, combined with a marked facility of address, which were not reserved for special occasions, but were ever present, being a part of his nature, and therefore characteristic of the man.

Those who were well acquainted with him will readily recall a habit which he had when in earnest conversation. He would bring the tip ends of the fingers of both hands together, and with a movement would describe the arc of a circle. It is doubtful if anyone else could do it so gracefully and convey with it additional emphasis to his words.

Dr. Pillsbury did not select a specialty in medicine or surgery in which to direct his studies, but devoted his time to the duties of a general practitioner. But while he did not adopt any specialty, yet what is often much better, he had a large family practice.

In this respect he was especially fortunate, as most of his families continued to employ him as their medical attendant as long as he lived. It was thought by many that he had unusual success in the treatment of the diseases of children and women. As a physician, he was remarkably successful with his cases, and the extent of his practice was only limited by the strength of his physical system to perform.

In the District Medical Society he was an active member from the time of its organization. At the first regular meeting he was chosen a member of the standing committee, and during his life he held most of the important offices of the society with the exception of treasurer, which office has had only three incumbents, the last and present being Dr. Edwards of Chelmsford, who has held the office for thirty-one years. For two years Dr. Pillsbury was president of the organization.

Dr. Pillsbury was not a politician, and only on a few occasions did he consent to hold office. For several years he was a member of the School Committee, but that honor was bestowed by reason of special qualifications rather than on account of adherence to any political party.

In 1839 he was a member of the Common Council, and in 1840 of the Board of Aldermen. For many years he was president of the Merchants' Bank.

Dr. Pillsbury was very temperate and abstemious in his habits, and of the strictest morality. In his religious life he was an attendant at St. Anne's Episcopal Church, whose creed and devotional forms he adopted.

In 1874 he removed to Billerica, intending to spend the remainder of his days on a farm, in the enjoyment of that rest and quiet, to which a steady

and unremitting labor of nearly half a century had certainly entitled him.

The people of that town not only welcomed him as a neighbor and townsman, but soon became persistent and almost unreasonable in their demands upon his services as a physician.

Only a few days after his arrival in the town, his services were called into requisition, and were continued to the last day and even to the last hour of his life. During the forenoon of Fast Day, April 12, 1877, then being in feeble health, he made a professional visit to a sick neighbor. His interest in the case was seemingly as great as he had manifested in his patients in his earlier practice, but on returning to his house to prepare some medicine he felt a slight indisposition, and, lying down upon the lounge, in a few minutes he was dead. The immediate cause of his death was supposed to be disease of the heart. His age at the time of decease was 79 years and 4 months. His remains were brought to this city for interment and burial at the Lowell Cemetery.

The honor and respect in which he was held by his medical brethren was attested by the large number of the profession that attended his funeral, and by the feeling which was expressed in the resolutions passed by the members of the society at their next meeting.

The following, written by one who knew him well, are fitting final words of tribute to his memory: "He was a man to honor, to esteem, and to imitate; and there are few, if any, who can think over his long and useful life and say they would have it different. Thoroughly sincere in his opinions, strict in his regard for morality, keenly aware of the needs and appreciating the trials of humanity, his nature was one of truth, of consistency, and of sympathy."

JOHN D. PILLSBURY, M. D.

Although not a resident of Lowell as long as Dr. Harlin Pillsbury, yet most of our older citizens will remember the skilful and always jovial physician, Dr. John D. Pillsbury. The subject of this sketch was the son of Dr. John Pillsbury, and was born in Pembroke, N. H., April 16, 1805.

His early education was received in the old academy of that town. Having chosen the profession of medicine, he commenced his studies with his father in 1825, and in the following year attended a course of medical lectures at the Berkshire Medical School. Subsequently he became a pupil of Dr. Peter Renton of Concord, N. H., who was at that time one of the most distinguished surgeons in the state. After remaining with him about a year he went to Pelham, N. H., where he taught the winter school, and at the same time continued his studies under the direction of Dr. William Graves of this city.

In the fall of 1829 he received his degree of doctor of medicine from the Bowdoin Medical School, and at the urgent request of his friends and relatives, was induced to settle in his native town, entering into partnership with his father.

He remained there but a little over two years, when, desiring a wider field in which to exercise his talents, he came to this then growing and enterprising town in 1831, where he soon entered upon a thriving and lucrative business, which continued without interruption for nearly twenty-five years.

As a physician Dr. J. D. Pillsbury enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the people of this city and the respect of his professional brethren. In his method of

practice he was true to the principles of his profession, and while not bigoted, yet had faith in the power of medicine, believing that when its nature and constituents were thoroughly understood and properly applied, it was of great and inestimable value.

It was at one time the custom in Lowell to invite the citizens to attend a public meeting of the physicians and listen to the annual address of the Medical Society, delivered by one of their members. These occasions were usually well attended, and much interest was manifested in them on the part of the public.

On one of these occasions Dr. J. D. Pillsbury delivered the annual address in the City Hall, May 21, 1845, under the auspices of the Middlesex District Medical Society. His subject was "The Progress of Medical Science." It was a well prepared paper, showing careful research on the part of the author. He was severe on certain forms of practice, while his address contained many humorous anecdotes and sarcasms at quackery and charlatanism.

As a member of the Middlesex Medical Association, he was much interested in its early organization. He was the first secretary of the Lowell Medical Association, and to him the Society is indebted for neatly written and compact records of the doings of their early meetings. He held the position of secretary for nine consecutive years, and also served acceptably in other offices connected with the Society.

Dr. J. D. Pillsbury was rightly called the cheerful physician. He possessed a large and compact frame, and a full and noble countenance, which was habitually lit up with a genial smile, and which he always carried into the sick room. His happy manner was often as beneficial as the medicine which he prescribed. Charity to the poor was one of his marked characteristics.

In 1854 he removed to Rochester, N. Y. Here "influential friends welcomed him, and the hand of kindness was extended to him by his professional brethren, by whom he was appointed to deliver the next annual address before the Monroe Medical Society." Being of a naturally hopeful temperament, and possessed of a strong constitution, he looked forward with reasonable hope of many years of usefulness and prosperity.

But his stay in that beautiful city was brief. In about a year, just after having settled in his new and elegant residence which he had purchased, he was stricken down with a disease of the brain, which, though it had troubled him some fifteen years previous, was thought to have entirely disappeared, but again manifested itself, and finally produced death quite suddenly December 21, 1855, at the age of fifty years.

One who was intimately acquainted with him, in speaking of his last illness, says of him: "He clearly comprehended its symptoms, watched its progress, and knew that it was not in the power of medical skill to arrest it. But it was sad to look upon the going down of so much hope, vigor, and mind, but sadder to him who knew it all, suffered it all. In his release from great physical and mental sufferings, we doubt not he has made a happy change."

HENRY KITTREDGE, M. D.

The circle of adjoining towns whose memorabilia of early physicians we have considered in previous papers, would be incomplete did we not include that of Tewksbury.

With no disrespect to any who have in the past, or who may in the future, practice the healing art in that

ancient town, we venture to affirm that it is doubtful if there ever was, or ever will be, within its borders a greater than Dr. Kittredge.

Dr. Henry Kittredge was born in Tewksbury, Mass., January 3, 1787. He was the son of Dr. Benjamin Kittredge of Tewksbury, who was one of the earliest physicians in the town, and continued there in practice until his death. The first Dr. Kittredge in this country, and who is supposed to have been the great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, is said to have been the founder of a long family dynasty of physicians in New Hampshire. He was one of seven brothers, all of whom were physicians and men of distinction.

Dr. James Thatcher, in his most admirable work, "American Medical Biography," in speaking of Dr. Thomas Kittredge, who was an uncle of Dr. Henry Kittredge, uses these words, which are perfectly applicable to the subject of this sketch:

"The family of which he was a member has become so distinguished for surgical skill in New England, that in many places the name alone is a passport to practice; and the number of practitioners of this name is very considerable. This is to be attributed, not only to the well-earned reputation of Dr. Kittredge, but to that of his father, who also had a high reputation in surgery; and it is not improbable that his grandfather and great-grandfather, the latter of whom came to this country from England, at an early period, and settled at Billerica, were eminent in the same line."

This will readily account for the tradition which has been handed down, that, on account of the great renown which was accorded to this remarkable family, and of the wide reputation which they achieved as representatives of medical skill, several physicians in New

Hampshire applied to the legislature for a change of their names to Kittredge, believing that, in popular estimation at least, they would thus acquire something of hereditary prestige. But it may be reasonably doubted if such an influence as that which the Kittredges continued to exert for so long a period, could have been maintained simply on account of their name. But may we not look back of that, and recognize in their sterling integrity and soundness of mind and body the elements of that *sturdy stock* from which they sprang.

The Dr. Kittredge with whom this paper is concerned was educated at Phillips Academy and studied medicine with his father. At the age of only twenty-three he commenced practice in Tewksbury, where he continued until his death, which occurred nearly forty years after. In person Dr. Kittredge was tall, with a well built and compact frame, capable of great powers of endurance.

Dr. Kittredge was a very practical man, which was clearly demonstrated in his method of practice. Doubtless his success as a practitioner was, in no small degree, due to the liberal use of the tincture of good common sense, which he made an important ingredient in the medicines, which he himself always compounded. He held human life too sacred for experiment or mere guess work, and in accordance with that faith he brought to the bedside of his patients honest purpose of heart and sincerity of manner. He was not a stern and unapproachable man, but affable, courteous in his intercourse, and his conversation was usually facetious, animated, and entirely free from any semblance of affectation.

Dr. Kittredge enjoyed an exceptionally large practice not only in Tewksbury, but in the towns adjoining. Like his ancestors he was a distinguished surgeon, and

his reputation in that department in no sense diminished the high standard which others of his name had attained. As a portion of Tewksbury, bounded by the Concord and Merrimack rivers, contained many families whom Dr. Kittredge attended, and some had moved into Lowell, his services were frequently demanded in this immediate vicinity.

Dr. Kittredge took an earnest and deep interest in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the town, serving on its various committees during his long residence there. With the exception of the clergyman, Dr. Kittredge was the only professional man in the town.

He was one of the first to engage in the temperance movement of those days, when it required not only moral courage but often some personal sacrifice to contend against a common usage which was more universally practiced than at the present day.

There are those still living in Tewksbury who remember Dr. Kittredge, and their united testimony, without one dissenting voice, is that he was an able physician, a skilful surgeon, and, above all else, an honorable, upright Christian man, in whose life we may discover "deeds as heroic, all unsyllabled and unsung though they be, as any that the world perpetuates in marble and bronze."

Dr. Kittredge continued in active practice until a few weeks before his death, the cause of which is to the writer unknown, but occurred December 18, 1847, at the age of nearly sixty-one years. His death was regarded as a great loss to the place. Many individuals and families, to whom he had long administered in sickness and was their only medical adviser, looked upon his death as a personal affliction.

JONATHAN BROWN, M. D.

The immediate successor of Dr. Kittredge was Dr. Jonathan Brown. Dr. Brown was born in Wilmington, Mass., February 24, 1821. He pursued his medical studies under the direction of his father, and attended lectures at Pittsfield and Harvard Medical University, receiving his medical degree in 1846. Soon after his graduation he located in the neighboring city of Lawrence, where he remained a little over one year. At the death of Dr. Kittredge he removed to Tewksbury, where he continued in practice nearly twenty years. Part of that time he was connected with the state institution.

Dr. Brown possessed the qualifications which were essential not only to his success as a country practitioner but which were of great value to him during his long period of service in connection with the state institution, of whose character it is not necessary to speak.

As a practitioner he was observing, studious, and devoted to the welfare of his patients. As a neighbor and townsman he was highly honored and respected, and was an ever ready and sympathizing friend.

When, in 1854, the state almshouse was established at Tewksbury, he was appointed resident physician, and for twelve years he had the entire charge of the hospital department. The condition under which the offer was made was that he should not attend to private practice, which, on accepting the position, he at once entirely relinquished. The wisdom of such a course will at once be seen from the following statement, which shows that it would have been impossible to do justice to private practice and at the same time properly discharge his duties at the institution.

During Dr. Brown's connection with the State Almshouse a very large amount of sickness came under his care and treatment. "The hospital reports give for those twelve years over 15,000 patients, averaging all the time from 150 to 200, and numbering some years up to 1700 or 1800 patients. Few if any medical men in the state ever prescribed for so many patients in the same time." This was too large a business for any one man to attend to, and he should have had assistants.

To the interest of the institution and the welfare of its inmates Dr. Brown gave his best and undivided efforts. His reports, which were prepared with great care, showed his treatment to have been wise and discriminating. His mind was clear, logical and exact, and he possessed a well balanced character. He was seldom absent from the institution, with the exception of a few months in 1862, which he spent in the service of his country. It was while in this service that his system became impregnated with malaria, from the effects of which he never recovered.

In 1865 he resigned his position as physician at the almshouse, and again entered into private practice, but it was not long before he was obliged to relinquish active business, and finally, after several months of suffering, he died of phthisis, August 20, 1867, at the age of 46. At the time of his death he held the office of President of the District Medical Society, in behalf of which he had been a most earnest worker, always attending its meetings, which were at one time held once a month. His constant and punctual attendance was often at the expense of considerable effort on his part, living as he did, nearly six miles from the place of meeting. The records show that he frequently prepared papers or brought forward cases for discussion.

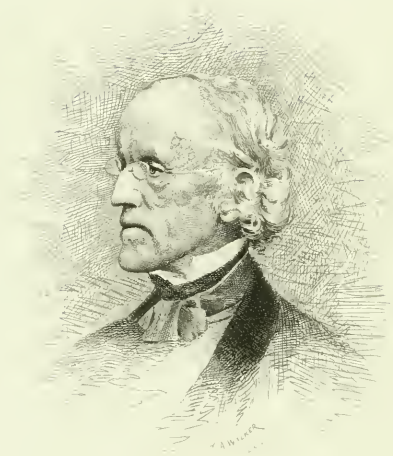
The following are among the resolutions passed by the Medical Society at a meeting which was called for that special purpose on the day of the funeral:

Resolved, That in the death of our President, Dr. Jonathan Brown, this Society deeply regret the loss of one who by his readiness to contribute to the interest and welfare of the organization, his uniform courtesy and kindness as an associate, and his impartiality and uprightness as a presiding officer, had secured our highest esteem and respect.

Resolved, That while his professional attainments, his unblemished Christian character, his untiring industry and self-sacrificing devotion rendered him admirably adapted to discharge the onerous duties of his late responsible position as physician to the State Almshouse at Tewksbury, his kind sympathies and cheerful countenance made him a welcome guest in the family circle and by the private bedside of the sick.

Rev. Mr. Tolman, his pastor, and who was intimately acquainted with him, Dr. Brown having been his family physician for many years, when officiating at the last sad rites, paid this affectionate and fitting tribute to his memory:

“He possessed qualities as a physician that made him beloved; he was strictly honest, always true to his patients, was modest in his deportment, had great respect for his professional brethren, and when placed in trying circumstances, was scrupulously careful of their honor and reputation. As a man he was cheerful, agreeable, frank and plain-spoken. At various times he occupied positions of trust and responsibility in the town, with fidelity to the public and honor to himself. He was a consistent member of the church, exhibited not so much by words or professions as by acts or example; when placed as a Christian in trying situations and put to the test, he always manifested genuine piety, true penitence and forgiveness.”



JOHN C. DALTON, M. D.

Wherein lay the power that Dr. Dalton exerted while living in this community, that now, after nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since his removal from this city, its influence is not only still felt, but his memory affectionately cherished by so large a number of our citizens? The inquiry is frequently made by those interested in these reminiscences — When will the paper on Dr. Dalton appear?

The artist runs a great risk who attempts to put upon canvas a head that has already been painted by a great master, and it is not without a similar hazard that an attempt is made to gather up these reminiscences.

A most excellent memorial on Dr. Dalton was prepared by Dr. John O. Green, and delivered by him before a public meeting of the citizens of Lowell, April 27, 1864.

Dr. Dalton was born in Boston, May 31, 1795. Early in life he received instruction at a private school, then kept in Spring Lane. Subsequently he attended the public schools, and in 1807, at the age of twelve years, was placed under the care of Dr. Luther Stearns, principal of Medford Academy, by whom he was fitted for college, entering Harvard in 1810. Among his classmates were such men as James Walker, William H. Prescott, F. W. P. Greenwood, and Pliny Merrick, each of whom afterwards attained eminent distinction in the professions which they adopted. In his college course he acquired scholarly tastes and habits, which he retained until the close of life. During his senior year he wrote for and obtained the Bowdoin prize, his subject being some question pertaining to political economy.

After his graduation in 1814, he accepted an usher-ship from his former instructor, where he remained one year. In the fall of 1815 he entered his name as a student of medicine in the office of Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Charlestown. He attended two full courses of medical lectures in Boston, one in the University in Philadelphia, and received his degree from Cambridge in August, 1818. Dr. Samuel L. Dana, who was for a long time a resident of Lowell, and who will be remembered by our older citizens, received his degree at the same time.

The entrance of a young physician into professional life in those days was somewhat different from the usual custom of later years. In some respects it was not unlike that of a minister receiving a call to settle over a parish. In this case Dr. Dalton virtually received a call from the people of Chelmsford to settle among them, and it was extended to him in the following manner :

In 1818 Dr. Wyman, who was then practicing at Chelmsford, received his appointment as superintendent of the McLean Asylum at Charlestown. A public meeting of the citizens of the town was called to give expression to their high esteem and personal respect for Dr. Wyman, and to request him to appoint a successor. The confidence which they reposed in him must have been extraordinary and very universal, for they pledged him that they would admit into their fellowship and employ the man whom he should recommend. The remarkable sagacity which was ever characteristic of Dr. Wyman was never more clearly shown than when he selected the subject of this sketch, who was then in his twenty-third year, and his medical studies scarcely completed. "No recommendation could have been more desirable and essential to success, and no appointment could have been more satisfactory and fortunate in its results to all parties."

An amusing incident, as related by Dr. Dalton to a friend in this city, occurred upon his first going to Chelmsford. Dr. Wyman, in order to facilitate his acquaintance, took him around to different parts of the town, and introduced him to the leading families, speaking a good word in his favor. Dr. Dalton was only twenty-two years of age, and his looks were youthful, especially as compared with Dr. Wyman. In calling upon one of the principal families, the head of the family, remarkable for age and wisdom, after making a careful survey of the "young doctor," remarked that "a physician would have to fill more than one grave-yard before he had a chance to experiment on him." Notwithstanding the shock this remark made upon the "young doctor" at the time, he said that this family became one of his best patrons.

For thirteen years Dr. Dalton pursued with untiring energy the duties of an extensive and successful practice. He was naturally zealous and enthusiastic, and followed out his investigations with great care and patient study. But the country practitioner early learns the lesson of self-dependence, as circumstances and exigencies frequently occur which not only ripen his native qualities, but also bring him occasions that test his mental fibre as well as his firmness and force of character.

Early in his professional career at Chelmsford, an incident occurred which will illustrate not only his skill in diagnosis but also will give an insight into the trials and difficulties and the misrepresentations—the latter too often coming from members of his own profession—with which the young surgeon has to contend.

An old gentleman, seventy-eight years old, residing in the northern part of New Hampshire, upset his two-horse team in Chelmsford, fell on his hip and could not

get up. He was at once conveyed to a house, and Dr. Dalton was called to see him. After a thorough examination he pronounced the case to be one of fracture of the neck of the thigh bone, and he at once proceeded to apply a modification of Dessault's long splint. A few days after, the patient became restive, and declared he must go home, and with that object in view, he employed a carpenter to make him a box sufficiently large to receive a bed together with himself and splint. Dr. Dalton heard of this and strongly protested against his removal, but it was of no use, for home he would go. The journey was taken in a wagon, the distance being over one hundred miles, he being carried forty miles on the last day of his ride. Some three weeks after the accident, a distinguished professor from Hanover was called to see him. "The patient made a somewhat singular appearance lying in his box, which, to accommodate himself and splint, he being over six feet high, was not much less than ten feet in length." The professor decided that the bone was not fractured, and prescribed treatment accordingly, and in a subsequent lecture before his class he described the case, and impressed upon the students the great care to be exercised against making a hasty diagnosis. Dr. Dalton heard of this and wrote to the professor, expressing surprise at the statement which he heard he had made, and described the case as it came under his care, stating that he found the limb everted and shortened more than an inch, also that he detected crepitus. A few years after the man died, and Dr. Dalton went to the place of his death and requested an autopsy, which was granted. Upon dissection "the bone showed every mark of fracture, and constitutes now a most interesting specimen of that peculiar kind of accident." Dr. Dalton at once wrote to the professor,

“stating the result, and closed with saying that it *was* very important in such cases to avoid a hasty diagnosis.”

The above incident doubtless made a lasting impression upon Dr. Dalton, as forty years after its occurrence, while in conversation with a brother practitioner on the trials of young physicians, he referred to this circumstance as a striking illustration of those trials from his own experience.

During his residence in Chelmsford he formed many pleasant associations, both social and professional, with people in this young and rapidly growing town, and in 1831, desiring a larger field of usefulness, such as the increasing population here afforded, he came to Lowell in September of that year.

“How easy,” says Dr. Green, “for his friends to recall his ever welcome presence. On his expanded forehead no one could fail to trace the impress of a large and calm intelligence. In his beaming smile none could help feeling the warmth of a heart which was the seat of all generous and kindly affection; while his closed mouth and rigid muscle around it gave equal evidence of his firm purpose and indomitable energy of will.”

Dr. Dalton's career in Lowell covers a period of twenty-eight years, and was contemporaneous with the growth of our city from its incorporation to the time of his death.

There are many characteristics that enter into the life, character, and professional attainments of this man which are worthy of more than passing notice.

As a physician he presents to the younger members of the profession an example worthy of study and imitation. He was an ardent lover of his profession, and sought, by careful study and investigation, to glean from every source those acquisitions which should enable him

to take high rank among the first in his calling, not only by his medical brethren of this city, but which should cause him also to be recognized among the leading physicians of the state. With a fine personal appearance, accomplished manners, and a melodious voice, he united in himself those mental acquirements and personal habits which are essential to usefulness and popularity.

It has been our privilege in some of the earlier papers to notice the relations which their respective subjects sustained to the municipal history of our city. But in this sketch we have one who did not actively engage in the political changes incident to a rapidly growing community. Dr. Dalton was not a politician, and his only experience in that line was two years of service as an alderman, which office he held only from a sense of duty.

During his residence of nearly thirty years in this city, Dr. Dalton took an active interest in all our charitable institutions, and he always entered with a glowing sympathy into the various measures instituted for the relief of the unfortunate and the aged poor. In 1857-'58, when many persons were thrown out of employment, and there was much suffering among the poor, he was quite active in forming a citizens' association for their relief. For some time he was Treasurer of the "Ministry-at-Large," and during his term of office many changes and improvements were made by his suggestion, which proved of inestimable value.

The Unitarian Society of this city, to which he belonged, and in which he was a valued member, are indebted to him for many substantial tokens, among which was this handsome gift: He transferred two shares in the Railroad Bank to the Society, and expressed the wish that the dividend therefrom should be

used in the following manner — “I would have one-half expended in the purchase, annually, of some engraving of permanent value in illustration of Scripture history or geography, for the use of the Sunday School; the other half to be put into the hands of the Minister-at-Large, for the purchase of poultry as a Thanksgiving dinner for a few of the most deserving poor, at his discretion.” As a result of this gift several fine engravings now adorn the walls of the beautiful vestry of that society, while many a poor family, as they sit down to a Thanksgiving dinner, have reason to be thankful for the thoughtfulness and benevolence of this kind-hearted man.

Dr. A. B. Crosby once related that when gathering reminiscences of Dr. Nathan Smith, one of the most distinguished surgeons in New England, and the founder of Dartmouth Medical College, he asked a venerable man in his own neighborhood, whose hair had been silvered by more than eighty winters, what manner of man Nathan Smith was. He thought a moment, and then, with a moistened eye and a quiver of the lip, replied: “He was good to the poor.” Nearly two decades have passed since Dr. Dalton has slept within

“The low green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings.”

Yet there are many living hearts in this community that still beat his requiem, and voices that repeat that most enduring of all epitaphs: “He was good to the poor.”

In 1859, owing to family relations which were of a most pleasing nature, he removed to his native city. Although he had been so long absent from the scenes of his early life, he was privileged to renew many old

acquaintances, and form new associations which soon placed him in an enviable position among the refined and cultured of that gifted city. "His brothers in the profession at once joyfully admitted him to a place among their honored members, and medical trusts of dignity and importance were gladly placed in his hands," among which was the appointment as Senior Physician to the new City Hospital.

Dr. Dalton was a patriot, and nothing but his age prevented him from giving personal service at the front, in the days of the Rebellion. While his four sons were in the service of the country, he was not idle at home, but was actively engaged in all those philanthropic measures which were instituted by loyal friends in the North for the comfort of those who were engaged in the service.

The lamented John A. Andrew — war governor of Massachusetts — in an address delivered on one occasion, eulogized the patriotic zeal of Dr. Dalton as follows: "When accidentally present on the arrival of two hundred men in the steamer 'Daniel Webster,' in Boston, he at once promptly offered his services to the Surgeon General; and he actually rode up State Street in an open ambulance at the head of the column on its way to the hospital, while many a young man has turned away in disgust because he disliked his assigned position at some capital operation."

Dr. Dalton was one of the few who are in the habit of speaking freely and unreservedly of their religious convictions.

In a long autobiographical letter furnished by request, to his class secretary, some years after his graduation, he gives a specific and explicit account of his views relative to those important questions which relate to

man's future destiny, but in respect to which the limits of this paper do not permit us to speak. But enough may be gleaned from the above brief sketch of his life to show most conclusively that whatever his theological opinions might have been, he had learned the true mission of life, and was content to humbly follow in the footsteps of Him who went about doing good.

The last illness of Dr. Dalton, which was the result of an accident, was brief, though painful. For several days he was a great sufferer.

"How touchingly characteristic," said Dr. Green, "was the fact that the errand which called him from his home on the night of his fatal accident was to secure the *Life* of his classmate, Prescott, then newly published, to send to another classmate in a distant state."

Upon returning from this errand he slipped on some ice by his door and fell "upon a piece of iron, the model of a cannon, about six inches long and one inch in diameter, which he had in his pocket, and which was forcibly driven against his left side." In a few hours after the accident he was attacked with symptoms of pneumonia, which rapidly increased, and finally terminated fatally January 9, 1864. He had reached the age of sixty-eight at the time of his death.

"He gave his honors to the world again,
His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace."

His remains were brought to this city, and now rest in the Lowell Cemetery.

WILLIAM GRAVES, M. D.

This gentleman was born in 1793. Unfortunately no authentic account can be obtained of the place of his birth and early life. As the family have become extinct

and no printed sketches of him can be found, our notice is necessarily brief.

This paper therefore introduces him at a time when he was in practice at Deerfield, N. H. It is said that he practiced in that town for a number of years and did a large business.

In 1826 he came to Lowell, where he remained nearly fifteen years. While living in Deerfield, and in this city, he educated a large number of students, which fact speaks well for his attainments. His traditional reputation is that of a skilful physician and surgeon, and he is often referred to favorably by our older citizens.

For many years he had an office on Central Street, at the corner of Warren, from which he removed to Hurd Street, where he lived until his death. He is described as a man of genial temperament and of a cheerful disposition. He was also quite corpulent, turning the beam at three hundred pounds. Probably he was the largest physician physically that ever practiced in this city.

Dr. Graves was a member of the State Medical Society, but there is no record of his being a member of our local organization.

His death is recorded at the city clerk's office as having occurred April 1, 1843, at the age of fifty.

JOHN W. GRAVES, M. D.

Dr. John Wheelock Graves, son of the subject of the preceding sketch, was born in Deerfield, N. H., January 7, 1810. His academical education was received at Exeter, N. H. At the age of sixteen he removed to Lowell with his father.

Dr. Graves studied his profession in the office of his father and attended lectures at the Medical University at

Washington. After his graduation he returned to this city, where, with the exception of the time he was in charge of the United States Marine Hospital at Chelsea, he remained in active practice until the last year of his life.

Having the prestige of his father's name, reaping certain advantages from his father's experience and business, and commencing himself when quite young the practice of medicine with a young and growing population, he soon became very acceptable as a physician to a large number of families, and for many years had an extensive business, not only in Lowell but in the neighboring towns. Few physicians are ever called to prescribe for so many different patients or have done it with such general satisfaction.

He espoused heartily the cause of temperance and anti-slavery, and was always ready to contribute of his time, his means, and his influence to them, as well as to other benevolent objects.

Few physicians, in city or country practice, have ever performed gratuitously a greater amount of professional service for the poor and needy—among whom were found at his death very many sincere mourners.

In 1871, when our community was suffering from the ravages of small-pox, it will be remembered how earnestly he labored to suppress this epidemic while acting as chairman of the medical staff appointed by the Board of Health. For the quick suppression of this loathsome disease our community was very much indebted to his decided and persevering efforts.

Dr. Graves was quite active in the political history of our city. Originally he was a democrat but became prominent in the "free soil" movement. He served acceptably on the School Committee in 1833-'34-'35. In 1842 he was a member of the Board of Aldermen, and a

state senator in 1850-'51. He was also a member of the convention to revise the state constitution in 1853. In 1852 he was appointed by Gov. Boutwell as one of the commissioners to locate and erect the lunatic asylum at Taunton.

"He was several times a candidate for mayor, and was each time unsuccessful by a few votes only, although the candidate of a party in an almost hopeless minority and had pitted against him a candidate whose nomination at any time was considered equivalent to an election." He was city physician in 1850-'59-'60. In 1861 he entered upon his duties as superintendent of the United States Marine Hospital at Chelsea. This position he held with great acceptance for eight years. In 1869 he returned to Lowell and assumed charge of the Lowell Hospital, where he remained until his death, making forty-four years of medical practice.

Dr. Graves was a member of the Old Residents' Association, and also an active member of the Middlesex North District Medical Society, having been one of its early members.

In person Dr. Graves was a little above six feet in height, of erect carriage and of commanding presence. He was very pleasant in conversation, adding to this happy faculty a much more rare one, that of remembering every one by name to whom he had once spoken.

Dr. Graves "possessed naturally a strong constitution and had always enjoyed good health, except a severe fit of sickness in 1841. But early in August, about four months before his death, he had a slight attack of apoplexy, followed for some weeks with a disturbance of the bowels, which, by reducing the vital forces of the system, revived up and greatly increased an old difficulty, an organic disease of the heart. As a result of this low

vitality and want of power in the action of the heart, the circulation was soon cut off entirely to one foot, which relapsed into a moribund state, that gradually extended to the knee. In the mean time the action of the heart became weaker and more abnormal, occasioning at times great difficulty in breathing. So great was this difficulty in respiration for the last two weeks of his life that it seemed to his attendants that he could not survive from day to day, and, at times, from hour to hour. This continued resistance to disease and tenacity of life showed a remarkably strong constitution. During all his sickness he had full possession of his mental faculties and frequently expressed a desire to be relieved from his pain and sufferings." These troubles rapidly increased during the last few weeks of his life, and finally terminated fatally November 28, 1873, at the age of nearly sixty-four.

The remains of both the father and son rest in the family lot in the Lowell Cemetery.

HANOVER DICKEY, M. D.

Dr. Hanover Dickey was born in Epsom, N. H., September 14, 1807. He pursued his medical studies under the direction of Dr. William Graves, Dr. John W. Graves, the subject of the preceding sketch, being a student in his father's office at the same time. Dr. Dickey attended medical lectures at Dartmouth Medical College and Harvard University, receiving his degree from the latter in 1837. For eight years he practiced medicine in Epsom, his native place. In 1845 he came to Lowell, where he resided twenty-eight years.

Dr. Dickey was, from disposition and the constitution of his mind, very retiring. As a physician he

possessed, in a large degree, those moral and intellectual qualities which give honor and usefulness to the profession. He possessed one moral and intellectual quality which will be recalled by those who were well acquainted with him, and that was a purity of mind and heart. In his religious life he was a member and regular attendant at the Kirk Street Church.

The subject of this sketch was made for a working physician. He had a good person, a grave, mild countenance, a good constitution, and a kind, sympathizing nature. These, together with his intellectual acquirements, enabled him to enjoy a good business during his professional career in this city.

As a member of the Medical Society he was a constant attendant at its regular meetings, frequently taking active part in the discussions, and ever ready to perform his part, when assigned to prepare a paper or present a case for mutual study and improvement.

Dr. Dickey never married, but, together with his mother and sister, lived in a quiet and respectable manner on Hurd Street for many years. On the 29th day of May, 1873, after returning to his house from making a professional visit on the Hamilton Corporation, he entered his office, where he was soon heard to make considerable noise as if in trouble. But when entrance was made into the room he was found to be breathing his last, and before medical assistance could be obtained he was dead. His death was caused by heart disease, which had troubled him for many years. His remains were removed to his native town for burial.

At the next regular meeting of the District Medical Society the following resolutions were passed by his medical associates in this city:

Resolved, That in the death of Dr. Hanover Dickey, who has been a member of this Society twenty-eight years, and been honored

with all its leading offices, we lose an honorable associate, a physician thoroughly educated in his practice, strictly honorable in all his intercourse with his brethren and always thoughtful of the rights of others, as well as conscientious in the discharge of his duty towards his patients.

Resolved, That while expressing a deep sense of our personal loss in the death of Dr. Dickey, the virtues and the qualities here described as exhibited in his life and character are deserving of our warm commendation, our highest respect and faithful consideration.

BENJAMIN SKELTON, M. D.

Dr. Benjamin Skelton was born in the neighboring town of Billerica, March 16, 1783. For many years he practiced in Pelham, N. H., and in 1840 he removed to this city, where he resided for twenty-seven years. Dr. Skelton was highly respected for his moral and religious character. He was an active member of the John Street Congregational Church, and when the High Street Church Society was organized he became one of the original members. Of a quiet and retiring disposition he enjoyed a respectable practice for twelve or fifteen years, but for ten or twelve years he was confined most of the time to his house by reason of chronic rheumatism and partial paralysis. His death occurred March 23, 1867, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

DANIEL MOWE, M. D.

This gentleman was born in Pembroke, N. H., February 3, 1790. When he was twelve years of age his parents moved to Salisbury, N. H., and most of his education was received in the seminary of that town.

Having chosen the profession of medicine he pursued his studies under the direction of Dr. Joseph Wil-

son, of Salisbury, and attended lectures at Hanover, N. H., where he graduated in 1819.

For several years he practiced at New Durham, N. H. On the 10th of June, 1831, he came to Lowell, where he opened an office and commenced the practice of his profession, which he continued until within a few months of his death.

Dr. Mowe's character as a man of probity and honor stood high among all who knew him. To those who were intimate with him, he was known to be governed by the highest Christian principles, and daily exhibited the most ardent piety, united with sincere humility.

As a physician Dr. Mowe enjoyed a large practice, especially among the Methodist people of this community. He had a thorough knowledge of materia medica, was a careful observer of all new remedies, and was in the habit, after careful study of their constituents, to give them a thorough trial before adopting them among his class of remedies.

"The remedial agent known as 'Mowe's Cough Balsam' was a preparation of his own, and has justly received a fair reputation throughout New England."

In 1860 Dr. Mowe appeared to be in failing health, and in the fall of that year he went to Salisbury, N. H. While there he took a violent cold, which was followed by pneumonia, that terminated fatally November 3, 1860.

At a regular meeting of his associates in the medical fraternity, November 20th, a deserved tribute was paid to his worth in the following resolutions:

Resolved, First, That in the death of Dr. Daniel Mowe, an old and respected member of the Middlesex North Medical Society, we have lost an associate who was ever honorable and upright in character, kind and courteous in professional intercourse, correct and exemplary in life and manners, a safe and intelligent counsellor and always true and steadfast friend.

Second, That inasmuch as his working years were devoted to the interests of this community, so here his memory should ever be held precious, as that of one who, after a long and useful career, has left a bright example of an upright Christian life.

JEREMIAH P. JEWETT, M. D.

Dr. J. P. Jewett, who was the son of Dr. Jeremiah Jewett, was born in Barnstead, N. H., February 24, 1808. He received a common school education in his native village, and also attended two terms at Phillips Academy in Exeter, under the instruction of John Adams.

Dr. Jewett studied his profession in the office with his father, and attended lectures at Dartmouth Medical College, where he graduated in the fall of 1835.

In March, 1838, he came to this city, and entered upon the practice of his profession, which he continued until his death.

His devotion to the profession never abated during the whole period of thirty-seven years that he was engaged in practice. His career was not marked by startling events nor remarkable achievements, but was itself the most rare and difficult achievement of all—an uninterrupted discharge of every daily duty.

As a physician Dr. Jewett enjoyed a good practice, and for many years he served the city acceptably, performing the offices of coroner. As a member of our local medical society he was prominent and active. He was at one time president, and for many years he was secretary of the organization; he also served in other positions. He was for many years a member of the New England Genealogical Society. At one time during his connection with this society, he collected material and commenced a history of his native town. This work, which was not completed at the time of his death,

has since been revised, enlarged, and published by our venerable citizen, Robert B. Caverly.

During two years before his death he suffered from dropsical affections. His death occurred June 23, 1870.

On the 27th his funeral was attended by large delegations from the Old Residents' Association and the North District Medical Society, and his remains were borne away "to a peaceful rest in the shades of the Lowell Cemetery."

JOHN BUTTERFIELD, M. D.

Dr. Butterfield was born in Stoddard, N. H., January 2, 1817. He began to attend school at the early age of three years, and from that time until his death, was a most diligent and faithful student. A large part of his short life of thirty-two years was spent in teaching. He was at one time a pupil of our venerable citizen, Mr. Joshua Merrill, and also of Mr. Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop Clark of Rhode Island. Dr. Butterfield taught school at Francestown, N. H., when he was but seventeen years of age, having previously had some experience in teaching at Londonderry in that state. He was at one time the principal of the Third Grammar School in this city.

He studied his profession with the late Dr. Huntington, and attended lectures at the Medical University at Philadelphia, from which he received his degree of M. D. Returning to this city, he entered into partnership with Dr. Huntington.

Although a young man, Dr. Butterfield was widely known as a man of great promise. He was a great favorite with his associates and won for himself a large circle of friends both in and outside of the profession.

He was highly respected for his Christian manliness and integrity of character.

In 1843 he removed to Columbus, Ohio, where he soon won for himself a high position in the medical circles of that city. Soon after his arrival at Columbus he was chosen professor in the Starling Medical College. "It is no disparagement to the very respectable gentlemen connected with that college to say that Dr. Butterfield was the leading man among them." Dr. Butterfield was a great favorite of Dr. Willard Parker of New York, who it is said, after his death remarked "that he lived a full and rounded life in the short period of thirty-two years." Never of a strong and rugged constitution, by close application to his studies he easily fell a victim to pulmonary troubles, which rapidly increased until, in the summer of 1847, he returned to this city, hoping that the change and rest would soon restore him to his health, so that he might return to labors which he fondly looked forward to with the brightest hopes. After remaining here a week he went to Salisbury, N. H., where he rapidly failed, and died of consumption, September 7, 1847.

ABNER H. BROWN, M. D.

The subject of this sketch was born in New Ipswich, N. H., July 6, 1816.

Through the courtesy of our highly respected citizen, Mr. C. C. Chase, principal of the Lowell High School, who was a classmate and intimate friend of Dr. Brown's, the following sketch of his early life is here given as furnished by him in a letter received a few days ago :

At the age of eight years he lost his father by death, and in six or seven years after this event, his mother, for

the better support and education of her three children, removed to the city of Lowell.

It was the good fortune of Dr. Brown to be a member of the first class of boys who entered our High School, and to become a scholar of the Rev. Dr. Clark, afterwards the distinguished bishop of Rhode Island. Dr. Clark, when chosen principal of the High School, was only nineteen years of age, but his pupils saw in him so much to admire, such enthusiasm, such hearty sympathy, such personal magnetism, that he found it easy to inspire them with a high ambition.

The admiration was mutual, for more than thirty years afterward the bishop declared that he used firmly to believe at the time that there never was such a splendid set of scholars as he had. Of those boys I will mention only four.

First was Benjamin F. Butler, now governor of the state, whose active, vigorous mind already gave promise of his renown.

Next was Edward F. Sherman, a fine scholar, who afterwards became the mayor of our city.

Next was Marshall H. Brown, brother of Dr. Brown and two years his junior, a boy of great promise, who died before entering college.

The fourth was Abner Hartwell Brown, the subject of this article, a delicate boy of such quiet, gentle ways, so full of love and tenderness and yet so coy in the expression of his feelings, so refined in his taste and language, such a natural gentleman, though but a country boy, that his mates could not help respecting and loving him.

After his graduation in 1835 Dr. Brown entered Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1839. "As a student of Dartmouth he stood in the front rank. As

a scholar he was diligent and thorough, and as a man he was a favorite."

Upon finishing his collegiate course he was appointed as a tutor in the college, where he remained two years.

In 1841 he was elected as principal of our Lowell High School. But before entering upon his active duties he was attacked with a dangerous hemorrhage of the lungs, which prostrated him for several weeks. On account of this he returned to the School Board the commission with which they had honored him.

At length, after somewhat recovering from his illness, he chose the profession of medicine, influenced, it is supposed, by his intimate friend, Dr. John Butterfield, the subject of the preceding sketch. He attended medical lectures at Dartmouth Medical College and at New Haven, graduating at the latter and delivering the valedictory address on that occasion. Subsequently he was appointed professor of chemistry in the Willoughby Medical College of Lake Erie, where he gave several courses of lectures with acknowledged ability and success. When that school was removed to Columbus, Ohio, he still continued to occupy his position as professor.

In 1847 he received the appointment of professor of materia medica and medical jurisprudence in the Berkshire Medical School at Pittsfield, Mass. This office he retained until his death.

Of his practice in this city, which was of course more or less interrupted by his courses of lectures, it is only necessary to say that by his good judgment, kind feelings and courteous deportment he acquired and retained, in an eminent degree, the confidence and good will of all who knew him. Brilliant as were the qualities of his mind, the qualities of his heart still eclipsed them. As a physician he was esteemed as a safe and

skilful practitioner. He was thorough in his investigations, and careful in his methods of treatment. He was city physician for several years, and in that capacity his kindness of heart and gentleness of manner were ever prominent in his dealings with suffering humanity. Such were the high attainments of Dr. Brown that had his life been spared he would doubtless have stood among the first in his profession, and have been an honor to the community as an upright Christian physician. His death occurred at Hanover, N. H., April 21, 1851.

PATRICK P. CAMPBELL, M. D.

Dr. Campbell was born in Scotland, March 30, 1804. At an early age he came to this country, and soon after settled in Lowell. For twenty years he practiced his profession in this city. Among his own nationality and the families who patronized him he was highly respected for his upright, honorable life, while as a physician he possessed the necessary requisites of a successful practitioner. A few years before his death he removed to East Chelmsford, where he remained the rest of his life. His death occurred November 18, 1865, at the age of sixty-two, after an illness of only three days.

OTIS PERHAM, M. D.

The older citizens of this community will readily recall the name of Dr. Perham, who for nearly twenty-five years, was a highly-respected and well-known practitioner in this city. Dr. Perham was born in Old Chelmsford in 1813. He was a cousin of Dr. Willard Parker, with whom he studied medicine, and graduated at Woodstock Medical School in Vermont, when Dr.

Parker was Professor in that institution. In 1837 he came to Lowell. By marriage and other associations he enjoyed a large practice among the leading families in this city. In 1839 he connected himself with our local medical society, in which he afterward held many important offices.

As a physician, Dr. Perham is reputed to have been well read in his profession, careful and discriminating in his diagnosis, judicious in his methods of treatment, kind and sympathizing with his patients, and thoughtful of their wishes and patient with them in their troubles. As a man, none have but the kindest words as they speak of his life and revere his memory. His death occurred November 22, 1863, at the age of 50.

DANIEL P. GAGE, M. D.

Among the many physicians who have practiced medicine in this city it would be hard to find one who was more devoted to the duties of his profession than was Dr. Gage.

The subject of this sketch was born in Berlin, Worcester County, in this state, October 25, 1828.

Shortly after this event his father moved to Northboro', where the youth's early years were spent in assisting his father in his labors on the farm, and in attending the winter terms of the town school.

Subsequently he attended the academy in Newbury, Vt., where he graduated.

He also taught school for several terms in the academies at Wrentham and Walpole, Mass., and at the same time continued his studies of the higher mathematics and the languages.

Having chosen the profession of medicine he commenced his studies under the direction of Dr. Harvey Clapp of Wrentham. He afterwards studied under Dr. Moses Clarke of Cambridge, both now deceased, and attended lectures at Harvard University, graduating in 1855.

Immediately after his graduation he came to Lowell, and opened an office on East Merrimack Street, Belvidere, but shortly after removed his office to the Nesmith Building, and finally located on John Street, where he kept an office for many years. In 1862 he entered the army as assistant surgeon, and was detailed for several months in the hospitals at Washington and vicinity. He also participated in several of the important battles of that year.

Upon his return home he again entered into active practice, which was continued uninterruptedly for nearly twenty years.

In 1867, when St. John's Hospital was organized, he was elected a member of the staff of physicians, and during his connection with that institution, which was continued until the close of his life, he not only served it faithfully as a physician, but also took an active interest in all matters pertaining to the prosperity of the hospital and the comfort of its patients.

He was greatly interested in another charitable institution in this city—the St. Peter's Orphan Asylum. He gave to it his professional services, and by kind attention and fatherly care over the little orphans won their love, and the respect and high esteem of those connected officially with the asylum.

Dr. Gage devoted his life to the interests of his profession with the zeal which marks the true patriot on the field of battle.

In regard to his medical standing and character it is due to his memory to say that he was well informed in the latest and best methods of treatment in his day, was diligent in study, careful and discriminating in his diagnosis, and was especially fortunate in his management of disease.

It was characteristic of Dr. Gage that he laid special emphasis upon the family history of his patients. He always made it a rule to enquire particularly into their antecedents, early habits, occupation and surroundings, and having done this took equal care to investigate the immediate cause of their ailment.

Nor was this careful and painstaking inquiry into details confined to his first visit, but it has often been remarked of Dr. Gage that when he had once taken charge of a case, he remained faithful to the trusts committed to him to the last.

In his surgical treatment he emphasized most clearly the significant remark of Desgenettes to the French surgeon-in-chief, that "It was the duty of the physician to save life, not to destroy." In this particular Dr. Gage won the lasting gratitude of his patients. However serious a wound might seem to be at first, he was always inclined to defer any operation that would involve a portion of the injured part, believing that nature would make the necessary repairs, if allowed to do so. This characteristic was especially shown in his treatment of mill accidents, the most common of which are injuries to the hands or arms, and it is believed that many an unfortunate person who has received severe lacerations of one or more fingers of their hand now enjoy the use of their whole hand as the result of the wise and patient treatment of Dr. Gage, for he literally nursed back to recovery the injured members, which perhaps others,

less willing to wait for so slow a process, would have amputated.

Another characteristic of Dr. Gage was the deep interest which he always manifested in students and younger members of the profession. Many a young physician cherishes his memory with filial affection as he recalls the courtesies and kind attentions received from him during the early years of his professional career.

As a member of the district medical society, he held many important offices, and was president of the society the year preceding that of his death.

The subject of this sketch gave his life in behalf of his profession, but it was more of a sacrifice than many are called upon to offer. We read in history that, during the plague which is known as the "Black Death" and which raged throughout Europe in the 14th century, a physician shut himself up alone in a room, and there, until he perished, continued to dissect the bodies of those that had died, at the same time writing out a diagnosis of the disease in order that the faculty might discover a remedy for it.

For twelve years Dr. Gage suffered from slow poisoning occasioned by the inoculation of virus through a scratch on his finger while making a post-mortem examination. Within twenty-four hours after the occurrence he was obliged to take his bed, and the best of medical aid was summoned to his relief. He rallied from his prostration, but his finger did not heal for three months.

The attacks from this cause recurred at first at irregular and long intervals, but they grew more frequent in number and severity until finally he was compelled to relinquish practice. During the last two years of his life, he was confined most of the time to the house. He was never heard to complain, even when suffering intense

pain, from which the nature of the disease gave him but little respite. He would, by a strong effort, strive to forget himself in the interest of others.

Worn out by terrible and continuous sufferings, though in the prime of life, and with everything to live for, death was welcomed, and relieved him of the burden of life on the morning of the 31st of January, 1877, at the age of forty-eight.

EBEN K. SANBORN, M. D.

Dr. E. K. Sanborn was born in New Chester, N. H., January 24, 1828. His father, who was also a physician, died when he was thirteen years old. Having chosen the profession of medicine, he pursued his studies under the direction of his uncle, Dr. Gilman Kimball of this city. Dr. Sanborn early in his career gave evidence of a high degree of professional attainments and soon reached an enviable position among the younger members of the profession.

In 1853, at the age of twenty-six, he filled the chair as lecturer on pathological anatomy in the medical college in Vermont. The following winter he went abroad, and spent several months attending the clinics in the hospitals of England and Germany.

After returning to this country he was appointed a teacher of anatomy at the Berkshire Medical Institution. For some time he also filled the chair of surgery in the same school.

After the breaking up of the school in Vermont with which he was first connected, he received an appointment in the medical institution located at Castleton, Vt., at the same time establishing himself in practice at Rutland.

Dr. Sanborn is said to have possessed rare acquirements as a teacher, and had he remained in that capacity, he would doubtless have attained to a high position among the medical instructors in this country. He early in his practice commenced to use his pen in recording his observation of cases, methods of treatment, and such other information as he thought would be useful to him in later years. His communications to medical journals, although few in number, showed original thought and study, and covered a wide range of subjects, especially in his special department of anatomy and surgery.

The following are some of the subjects of the papers which he prepared, and which may be of interest to the profession: "Fractures of the Patella, treated by Adhesive Straps"; "Ligamentous Union of the Radius and Ulna, treated by Drilling and Wiring, after Failure by other Means"; "Ununited Fracture of the Humerus cured by the same method"; "A New Method of Treating large Erectile Tumors, with a Review of the Pathology of the Disease and the Different Modes of Treatment." This last is said to have been a most exhaustive treatment on that subject, showing not only remarkable success in a given case, but furnishing also suggestions of general application to this particular class of disease.

Upon the breaking out of the rebellion he was one of the first to offer his services in behalf of his country. In April, 1861, he was commissioned as surgeon to the First Volunteer Regiment of Vermont. He was first stationed at Fortress Monroe, and soon after he was ordered to Newport News as post surgeon, where he established, though on a small scale, the first hospital erected during the war.

It was while at Fortress Monroe that his real worth and efficient service were recognized by Gen. B. F. Butler, who solicited his future service as surgeon of the

Thirty-first Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. This proposition was accepted, and with a commission from Gov. Andrew, he joined his regiment on board the ill-fated steamship "Mississippi," whose record of disasters and perils is well known by every student of history.

But his brilliant career was destined to be short, for as soon as he reached Ship Island "he had become sadly prostrated, both in mind and body, by the unremitted fatigues and anxiety of the voyage, so that in less than two weeks from the day of disembarking he sank away without showing any evidence of actual disease, apparently from mere physical exhaustion." His death occurred April 3, 1862, at the age of thirty-five. His remains were taken to Lowell for burial.

Upon the occasion of his death Gen. Butler remarked: "The service lost a good officer, the profession an able member, and the country a patriot and good citizen."

JAMES G. BRADT, M. D.

Dr. James G. Bradt, who was the son of Mr. G. B. Bradt, a well-known citizen of this city, was born in Lowell, September 24, 1837. His early education was received in the public schools of this city. He graduated at the High School in 1849. He entered Harvard College in 1853, but was obliged to leave his studies before the close of his junior year on account of a severe attack of hemorrhage of the lungs.

Dr. Bradt read his profession with the late Dr. Walter Burnham of this city, and attended lectures at the Medical College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, where he graduated in 1858. For a time he was professor of anatomy in Worcester Medical College. On the breaking out of the war he entered the army and

served as surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment. While in the service he won a high position among his medical associates, and particularly distinguished himself as an operating surgeon of more than ordinary ability. After serving his country for four years he returned home and entered into practice in this city. Dr. Bradt united to undoubted skill in his profession an intense love for its practice, and had exceptionally good success in the management of disease.

He early connected himself with the North District Medical Society, which he served faithfully for a considerable time as its secretary.

But the same relentless foe—consumption—that had taken his mother, a sister and only brother, at last claimed him also, and on the 22nd of January, 1868, at the age of thirty years and four months, he passed away.

ABNER W. BUTTRICK, M. D.

Although not strictly one of the early physicians of this city, yet, on account of the high rank which he attained among his professional brethren in this community, it may not be inappropriate to include a brief sketch of him in this paper. Dr. Buttrick was born in Lowell, August 28, 1842. He was a member of our Lowell High School, and fitted for college at Phillips Academy of Andover, entering Williams College in 1861, graduating in 1865. Subsequently he entered Harvard Medical School, where he received his degree in 1869. Soon after his graduation he went to Europe, where he spent a considerable time at a hospital in Dublin, and several months of study in the celebrated medical college at Vienna. Later, he attended clinical instruction at a hospital in Paris.

“While Dr. Buttrick was a man thoroughly imbued with scholarly habits and tastes, he made not the slightest pretence to scholarly rank or distinction, under the ordinary discipline and regimen of school or college. He grasped the substance of knowledge, and was almost scornfully indifferent to the conventional methods of proclaiming and rewarding scholastic achievement.”

Upon entering upon the active duties of his chosen profession, which he did in his native city, he at once took high rank, not only as an educated physician of more than ordinary ability, but as far, and even at times beyond the limits which his health would permit, he worked persistently for the advancement in certain of its most important spheres.

His heroic and faithful discharge of duties performed during the prevalence of small-pox in this city, will stand as a monument that he proved himself “to the occasion true.” One, in writing of him after his death, and referring to his connection to the important position which he occupied at that time, said: “The acceptance of the post of resident physician at the pest house in Lowell meant isolation from family, from friends, and deprivation of the ordinary comforts of social life; it meant, also, personal danger; it meant communion with disease and death in their most terrible form. He was himself stricken with this dreadful scourge, but he never faltered, and there are many living to-day who can testify to the unremitting care, the fidelity and patience with which the good physician ministered unto them. ‘He stood between the living and the dead and the plague was staid.’” This was only one of the many of the duties which he performed as a public medical benefactor during the few years in which he was permitted to follow his chosen profession, which he loved so well.

But the same relentless foe which has claimed so many of the younger members of the profession, who have been the subjects of these sketches, met him also, and again proved, that while he saved others, himself he could not save.

For seven years he fought manfully, patiently and well against its ever insidious approaches, but at last, when the inevitable time came, he met it "calm, philosophical, cheerfully, undisturbed by his waiting shadow," and on the morning of March 27, 1882, he passed peacefully away.

The following most fitting testimony, which was prepared by one of his intimate professional brothers, expresses beautifully the respect in which he was held by the members of the Medical Society :

"While we tender our sympathy to the family of our late associate, Dr. Abner Wheeler Buttrick, in their affliction, and deplore the loss occasioned to this society by his death, we recall with pride and admiration the traits of character to which his excellence as a man and physician was due. He had a mind analytic, observing, unusually clear and well balanced, with a breadth of view that had been enlarged by foreign travel, a heart easily moved by human woes, a genuineness of purpose and sturdy common sense that frowned on charlatanry whether in religion, politics, society or the practice of medicine. A quiet heroism and calm philosophy which, rendered prominent by a long and trying illness, touched it with a gentle pathos, and made the closing scenes of his life seem less like a bed of sickness than an impressive triumph over suffering."

DAVID WELLS, M. D.

The subject of this sketch was born in Wells, Me., November 13, 1804. He was the son of Rev. Nathaniel Wells, a clergyman who for nearly a quarter of a century was highly respected and honored as an upright, faithful and earnest preacher of the gospel.

At an early age Dr. Wells removed with his father to Deerfield, N. H., where his boyhood life and many years of his early manhood were spent. His general education was received in the town school and in the academy at Exeter, N. H. "In the higher department of books and thought, he cultivated the domain of reading as the sailor follows the sea, as the native Swiss loves the mountains." His medical studies were pursued under the direction of Dr. Thomas Brown of Deerfield.

After his graduation he commenced practice in Deerfield, where he remained eight years. Subsequently he removed to Boston, where he remained nearly one year, and in 1837 came to Lowell, where he continued in practice forty years, until the close of his life.

Dr. Wells was one of the original members of the North District Medical Society, and during his connection with that organization he held nearly all of its important offices.

As a practitioner Dr. Wells was remarkably successful. He was a diligent and untiring student, and possessed, in a high degree, the requisites of all true intellectual greatness—the habit of patient investigation and close application to the subject he was pursuing.

Dr. Wells enjoyed a large practice, especially among the Irish people of this city. In regard to his medical treatment, it may be said that he possessed sound and discriminating judgment, and was often consulted by his professional brethren in trying and difficult cases. He lived to be useful and was most happy when he was fulfilling the kind duties of his profession in behalf of the poor. But, as has often been said, he was extremely retiring and self-distrustful.

The Rev. Dr. Foster, for many years his pastor, now deceased, in speaking of Dr. Wells, on the occasion of

his death, made these fitting remarks: "Descended from a long line of distinguished ministers, both on the father's and the mother's side, nourished in his childhood and youth by the richest food of gospel truth, it is not to be wondered at that he was a natural teacher, and that if his gifts of practice had been equally exercised with his gifts of experience and thought, he would have been an eminent expounder of Bible doctrine. With native sociableness and generosity, together with the charm of manner which belonged to him, he won greatly upon the confidence of children."

Dr. Wells never married, but spent his days in the quiet seclusion of his own companionship. In referring to his choice of single life, one has remarked: "How sad that some happy explorer had not traced those rivulets of kindness through ever deepening currents to the Albert Nyassa Lake, and built a home on its border, so that its blessed exhalations might not have been lost in the unknown airs, and its overflowing streams in surrounding sands."

During his residence here he boarded most of the time at the Merrimack House, sleeping in his office at night. Not appearing during the day of the 23d of February, 1877, entrance was made to his office, where he was found dead. Subsequent investigation made it probable that his death occurred early in the preceding night, of rupture of the heart, at the age of seventy-two years.

HIRAM PARKER, M. D.

This gentleman was born in Kittery, Me., in 1809. He entered upon his professional studies when quite young, attended lectures at the medical school in Philadelphia, where he graduated. For seven years he prac-

ticed in South Berwick, Me., and in 1834 he came to Lowell, remaining in practice in the city over forty years. He was originally a practitioner of what is termed the "old school," but subsequently advocated homœopathy, whose doctrines he followed during the last years of his practice.

Dr. Parker was a kind and genial man, a good practitioner, and enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. He was something of a literary genius, and wrote considerable, on both medical and miscellaneous subjects. When the work of Rev. Edward Beecher was published, entitled "The Conflict of Ages," Dr. Parker wrote and published a volume of considerable size which was designed as a reply to that of Mr. Beecher, and chose for his title "The Harmony of Ages." This work had a considerable sale, and is said to have been a production of more than ordinary merit.

Dr. Parker was a member of our local medical society, and, until his change of views with reference to medical treatment, he was quite an active member, but after adopting homœopathy he was not a constant attendant at its meetings, though he always retained his connection with that organization.

During the last few years of his life he was confined most of the time to the house with paralysis, which caused his death May 22, 1877, at the age of sixty-eight. His funeral occurred at the Worthen Street Baptist Church, where for many years he was an active, consistent member, a teacher in the Sabbath School, and prominent in the several departments of Christian labor.

HENRY WHITING, M. D.

This gentleman, who was a brother of our well-known citizen, Phineas Whiting, was born in that part of Chelmsford which is now Lowell, February 19, 1822. He fitted for college at Derry, N. H., and also in Boston, entering Harvard in 1838, graduating in 1842. He studied medicine with Dr. Gilman Kimball of this city, and Dr. Marshall S. Perry of Boston, attended lectures at Harvard Medical School, and at Jefferson Medical College in Pennsylvania, graduating at the latter in 1845. Immediately after receiving his degree he went to Europe, where he continued his medical studies, and also travelled over a great part of the continent. On his return from Europe, Dr. Whiting commenced practice in this city. Having abundant means he was never compelled to seek practice on account of its pecuniary remuneration, and therefore he devoted himself to acquiring the best possible knowledge of the art and science of his chosen profession.

Dr. Whiting possessed a naturally strong mind and unusual powers of observation. He was of a kind and generous nature, and was especially fond of humor, in which he freely indulged, but it was never of that character which in any way detracted from his gentlemanly habits, which he guarded with scrupulous care. In his professional life he was highly honored and was looked upon by his contemporaries as a young man of more than ordinary promise. But his career was brief. "He died in the flush of manhood, with high hopes and expectations unfulfilled." His death occurred June 23, 1857, at the age of 35.

When the list was prepared whose names have been the subjects of this series of papers, it was hoped that

they might be completed without having to include any of the fraternity who were then living. But this has not been permitted. Since these papers were commenced, the sickle of the destroying angel has entered our circle and consigned to another and larger circle beyond the shores of time, two of our oldest and well-known physicians—Dr. Walter Burnham and Dr. Daniel Holt. They have so recently left us, and as full notices of their professional careers, which were well known to all our citizens, have appeared in our several local papers, any further notice would necessarily be but a repetition of what has already been written.

As a matter of record, the following may appropriately be given :

WALTER BURNHAM, M. D.,

Was born in Brookfield, Vt., January 12, 1808. He graduated in medicine in 1829, and came to this city in 1846, where he continued in practice thirty-seven years. His death occurred January 16, 1883, at the age of seventy-five.

DANIEL HOLT, M. D.,

Was born in Hampton, Conn., July 2, 1810. After receiving his medical degree he practiced for a while at New Haven, and came to Lowell in 1845, continuing in practice here nearly thirty-eight years. He died April 11, 1883, aged seventy-two years.

CONCLUSION.

In drawing this series of papers to a close it may not be inappropriate to briefly review some of the salient

points which they present, and note a few lessons which they suggest. An apology for anything of a personal nature is always in place. Including the present paper there have been published fifteen papers, containing thirty-two sketches.

The subjects of these respective papers have, with but one or two exceptions, been regular members of the State or Middlesex North District Medical Societies. The object of this series, as stated in my first paper, was to gather up the incidents and reminiscences in the lives of the men who composed this society. Many of them were distinguished in their profession, and all were an honor in the community in which they lived. This, we believe, has been verified. In the Morning Mail of May 26, 1883, appears an article written by Dr. Nathan Allen of this city, in which this assertion is clearly demonstrated. Among other things he says: "The reading of these papers impresses one strongly that several of these physicians were men of no ordinary character. They inherited talents of a high order, and such was their calling and the circumstances surrounding them that they developed marked characteristics. It is doubtful whether any other city or vicinity in the state, except Boston, can present such a list of medical men. Some eight or ten physicians can be named among them whose equals in point of talent, education and character it would not be easy to find. Take Hildreth of Dracut, Thomas of Tyngsborough, Wyman of Chelmsford, Howe of Billerica, and Kittredge of Tewksbury, then Bartlett, Dalton and Huntington of Lowell—passing by the living—and where else can we find such men? Several names might be added to the above list who, in the estimation of many, would not be considered inferior to those mentioned."

In the preparation of a series of papers of this nature, it will not be supposed that the task could have been accomplished without the aid and co-operation of the members of the respective families and friends of those in respect to whom I was writing. It has been very gratifying to me to receive the hearty approval and kind assistance of the remaining members of the families whose fathers, husbands, and brothers have been the subjects of these sketches. While the occasion does not permit me to mention their respective names, yet I take this public manner of expressing to each and all my sincere thanks for their kind and thoughtful aid in furnishing memoranda, loans of books, and for promptness in correspondence.

But I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without publicly acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. John O. Green and Dr. Nathan Allen for the valuable assistance which they have rendered to me while preparing these papers. Some mistakes have been made and much that might have been included in several of the sketches has doubtless been omitted, yet from the many kind letters which I have received from prominent men in the profession and from others outside its ranks, together with personal expressions of approval and commendation from so large a number of our citizens, have not only been very gratifying, but also assure me that with those exceptions which the nature of such a work will allow, they have been generally correct.

Soon after the publication of these papers was begun there appeared in the Newburyport Herald an able editorial commending this work and suggesting that some one prepare a similar series of the physicians of that city. In speaking of the important position which a physician holds in the hearts of the community, the article says:

“There is no class more highly honored. People stand up for the family doctor as they do for their own clergyman, and there is much more of personal preference. There is no greater insult than to speak slightingly of the skill of the man who has faithfully attended the sick-bed of a loved one, and perhaps has brought him or her back from the portals of the dark kingdom to life and light. The doctor knows the troubles as well as the sickness of the families he visits. Their straightened circumstances cannot be concealed from his eye as they can from that of the casual visitor, and he is looked on as a friend so long as he is trusted in at all. But there is one great drawback to the profession. As soon as the doctor is dead he is forgotten by all except those who knew him personally. His beneficent deeds are exceedingly comforting at the time, but they are not such as to make a display. He works in secret, but the reward does not come openly, in this world.”

Under these circumstances, I can but believe that these sketches have at least proved pleasant reading to those acquainted with their history, and recalled pleasant memories of the early physicians of Lowell and vicinity.

XXIV. Members of the Massachusetts Medical Society in Lowell, from 1822 to 1883, by John O. Green.

	Admitted	Died.	Age.
Allen, Nathan.....	1841.....		
Aldrich, Ezra B.....	1870.....		
Bartlett, Elisha.....	1828.....	1855.....	51
Baker, Nathan.....	1841.....		
Baker, John.....	1841.....		
Burnham, Walter.....	1846.....	1883.....	75
Brown, Abner H.....	1849.....	1851.....	35
Butterfield, John.....	1842.....	1849.....	33
Bartlett, Benjamin D.....	1849.....	1853.....	63
Brown, Paris B.....	1851.....	1853.....	
Bradley, Wm. H.....	1852.....		
Blake, Jeremiah.....	1858.....		
Bricket, George F.....	1859.....		
Bradt, James G.....	1861.....	1868.....	30
Bass, William.....	1866.....		
Bancroft, Henry K.....	1864.....	1868.....	31
Buttrick, A. W.....	1872.....	1882.....	40
Babbitt, Henry S.....	1850.....		
Benoit, Benjamin, Jr.....	1878.....		
Brissett, H. R.....	1880.....		
Bradt, G. J.....	1881.....		
Ballard, Albert M.....	1871.....		
Campbell, Patrick B.....	1834.....	1865.....	69
Curtis, Josiah.....	1843.....		
Chadbourne, T. W.....	1876.....		
Colton, J. J.....	1877.....		
Carolin, W. T.....	1881.....		
Coggin, David.....	1869.....		
Dalton, John C.....	1831.....	1864.....	68
Dewar, Henry A.....	1834.....		
Dearborn, A. D.....	1840.....	1861.....	
Davis, Charles A.....	1849.....	1862.....	72
Dickey, Hanover.....	1845.....	1873.....	63
Daley, James.....	1869.....		
Dillon, Valentine M.....	1874.....		

Eaton, Wyllis G., Jr.	1879		
Ford, James W.	1827		
French, Leonard	1849		
Fox, Lorenzo	1865		
Fiske, Cyrus M.	1872		
Green, John O.	1822		
Graves, William	1826	1843	60
Graves, John W.	1830	1873	63
Gordon, Charles.	1834		
Grey, William	1838	1868	56
Gage, Daniel P.	1851	1877	48
Gilman, John H.	1866		
Goulet, Ambrose	1850		
Huntington, Elisha.	1824	1865	69
Horne, Jeremiah	1841		
Hill, Reuben W.	1845		
Hooke, H. M.	1845		
Holt, Daniel	1849	1883	72
Harwood, Henry J.	1860	1863	37
Herrick, A. S.	1873	1881	
Hoar, W. H.	1874		
Halloran, Robert J.	1874		
Huntress, Leonard, Jr.	1876		
Hyde, Edward.	1878		
Humphrey, Otis M.	1862	1872	
Irish, J. C.	1878		
Ireland, G. D.	1863		
Jewett, Jeremiah P.	1833	1870	62
Jackson, William B.	1880		
Jefferson, H. P.	1880		
Kimball, Gilman.	1830		
Kidder, Moses.	1838	1855	63
Kidder, C. W. B.	1849		
Kidder, Walter.	1845	1871	48
Kidder, Moses W.	1850		
Knight, Harvey.	1879		
Leach, J. T. G.	1833		
Langlois, Joseph E.	1867		
Livingston, Alfred.	1862	1877	39
Little, John.	1846		
Leighton, W. H.	1867		
Lavigne, Alfred W.	1872		

Mowe, Daniel	1830	1860	70
Mansfield, George	1832	1869	61
Manning, Peter P.	1838	1855	64
Mansur, Moody	1840		
Moore, Ira L.	1843		
Mason, Augustus	1844	1882	
Mann, Cyrus S.	1844		
Morse, Luther B.	1848		
McCrislis, John	1845		
Maxfield, James G.	1865		
Mignault, Deodat	1860	1862	29
Merrill, Sydney S.	1853		
McCarty, J. J.	1878		
McKinnon, J. A.	1881		
McOwen, William H.	1882		
Nickerson, Franklin	1867		
Osgood, George C.	1866		
Ober, C. J.	1880		
Pillsbury, Harlin	1827	1877	79
Pillsbury, John D.	1830	1856	49
Perham, Otis	1840	1863	50
Parker, Hiram	1834	1877	68
Prius, Peter	1860		
Perkins, E. A.	1858		
Pinkham, George E.	1865		
Parker, Moses G.	1866		
Pinco, Peter	1850		
Proctor, W. B.	1866		
Pillsbury, George H.	1870		
Patterson, D. N.	1876		
Phelan, A. J.	1879		
Plunkett, F. C.	1865		
Pillsbury, Harlin H.	1859		
Rice, F. R.	1879		
Scribner, Isaac W.	1834	1864	58
Skelton, Benjamin	1836	1867	77
Shapleigh, E. B.	1838		
Spalding, Joel	1846		
Savory, Charles A.	1850		
Sanborn, E. K.	1852	1862	35
Smith, Joseph H.	1868		
Sanders, Charles B.	1870		
Smith, H. J.	1872		
Spalding, Charles P.	1876		

Shaw, Thomas P.....	1877.....	
Sibley, Hartwell A.....	1878.....	
Shackford, Rufus.....	1847.....	
Taylor, V. O.....	1870.....	
Trueworthy, E. W.....	1877.....	
Viles, C. A.....	1878.....	
Wormsley, Thomas.....	1842.....	
Wells, David.....	1840.....	1876..... 72
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Wilbur, Hervey B.....	1843.....	
Whiting, Henry.....	1847.....	1857..... 35
Woodman, Lucius D. B.....	1852.....	
West, Joseph T. O.....	1849.....	
Warren, Charles.....	1860.....	
Whitmore, George H.....	1864.....	1870..... 47
Wood, Franklin A.....	1856.....	

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